

THE JOURNAL

OF THE

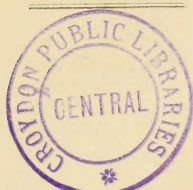
British Archaeological Association,

ESTABLISHED 1843,

FOR THE

ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES
INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE
EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.

VOL. XXIV.



London :

PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.

MDCCCLXVIII.

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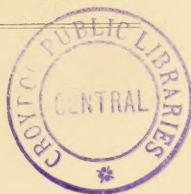
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T. RICHARDS, 37, GREAT QUEEN STREET, W.C.



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British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHEOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843 to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that institution, by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object, are,—

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the Kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies; as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in Foreign Countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of Antiquities discovered in the progress of Public Works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, &c.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archaeology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and by means of correspondents preserving authentic memorials of all Antiquities which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public meetings are held on the 2nd and 4th Wednesdays in the month during the season, at eight o'clock in the Evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of the objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these meetings Members have the privilege of introducing their friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Members, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter, to the Secretaries; or to the Treasurer, GORDON M. HILLS, Esq., 37, Thistle Grove, Brompton, to whom Subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or TEN GUINEAS as a life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to receive the parts of the *COLLECTANEA ARCHEOLOGICA* at a reduced price.

THE CONGRESSES HITHERTO HELD, HAVE BEEN IN

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1867	LUDLOW,	" "	{ SIR C. H. ROUSE BOUTTON, BART.

The principal points in relation to the History and Antiquities of these several places, will be found in the volumes of the JOURNAL. The JOURNALS already published are at the following prices, and may be had of the Treasurer and other Officers of the Association.

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Vol. XI, and the subsequent volumes, are furnished with double titles, and thus rendered independent of the previous volumes, if so desired, by such as do not possess the complete series.

The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER, are charged to the public £1. 11s. 6d., to the Members £1. 1s.

In addition to the JOURNAL, published regularly every quarter, and profusely illustrated, it has been found necessary, from the number of communications received and constantly accumulating, to publish occasionally another work, entitled "COLLECTANEA ARCHEOLOGICA". It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the Archæologia of the Society of Antiquaries. Sold to the public at 15s. each part, but may be had by the Associates at 10s.



RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.¹

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION shall consist of patrons, associates, correspondents, and honorary foreign members.

1. The patrons,²—a class confined to the peers of the United Kingdom, and nobility.
2. The associates—such as shall be approved of, and elected by, the council ; and who, upon the payment of one guinea as an entrance fee,³ and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or ten guineas as a life subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of officers and committee, and admit one visitor to each of the public meetings.
3. The correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities ; to be qualified only for election on the recommendation of the president or patron ; or of two members of the council ; or of four associates.
4. The honorary foreign members shall be confined to illustrious and learned foreigners, who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association, there shall be annually elected a President, ten⁴ Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for foreign correspondence ; who, with seventeen other associates, shall constitute the Council.

ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The election of officers and council shall be on the second Wednesday⁵ in May in each year, and be conducted by ballot, which shall con-

¹ The rules, as settled in March 1846, are here reprinted by order of the Council. The variations made since that date are introduced and indicated by notes.

² Patrons were omitted in 1850 from the lists of members, and have since been nominated locally for the Congresses only.

³ The entrance fee will not be demanded until five hundred associates are enrolled.

⁴ Till 1848 six Vice-Presidents, then the number enlarged to eight, and in 1864 to the present number.

⁵ In the earlier years the elections were in March. After 1852, till 1862, the Annual General Meetings were held in April. Subsequently they have been held in May.

tinue open during one hour. Every associate balloting shall deliver his name to the President, or presiding officer, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists, and report thereon to the general meeting.

OF THE PRESIDENT AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

1. The President shall take the chair at all meetings of the Society. He shall regulate the discussions, and enforce the laws of the Society.
2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by one of the Vice-Presidents, or some officer or member of the Council.
3. The President shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

OF THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Society, discharge all debts previously presented to, and approved of by, the council; and, having had his accounts audited by two members elected at the annual general meeting, shall lay them before the annual meeting.

OF THE SECRETARIES.

1. The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association.
2. The Secretary for foreign correspondence shall conduct all business or correspondence connected with the foreign societies, or members residing abroad.

OF THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the members, whose names are to be read over at the public meetings.
2. The Council shall meet on the days¹ on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require; and five shall be deemed a sufficient number to transact business.
3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time, by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notice of such meeting to every member.

¹ In the earlier years the Council meetings and ordinary meetings were not held in connexion.



4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices, or among its own members.
5. The Chairman, or his representative, of local committees established in different parts of the country, and in connexion with the Association, shall, upon election by the Council, be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, and the public meetings.
6. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the annual meeting.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The Association shall meet on the fourth Wednesday in November, the second Wednesday in December, the second and fourth Wednesdays in the months from January to May, and the second Wednesday in June, at eight o'clock in the evening precisely,¹ for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.
2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty members, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly.
3. A general public meeting, or congress, shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom as shall be considered most advisable by the Council ; to which associates, correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings, either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, and the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

¹ At first the meetings were more numerous, as many as eighteen meetings being held in the year ; and the rule, as it originally stood, appointed twenty-four meetings. Up to 1867 the evening meetings were held at half-past eight.

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British Archaeological Association.

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1868.

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ON THE GENEALOGY AND ARMORIAL BEARINGS OF THE FAMILY OF MORTIMER.

BY J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., SOMERSET HERALD, V.P.

THE rank confusion existing in nearly all our Anglo-Norman pedigrees, and the lamentable lack of authority for some of the more positive and interesting assertions of the genealogists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, render the task I usually set myself on these occasions one of such difficulty that nothing but the fact that "the labour we delight in physicks pain" could induce me, year after year, to attempt its execution. For the time and trouble of the research I feel more than repaid by the pleasure it gives me to supply a missing link, or to correct an erroneous statement; and not being forbidden, like Hotspur, "to speak of Mortimer," but, on the contrary, being solicited to say all I am able of that illustrious family, I beg to offer to the Society the following observations, prefacing them by what my predecessors have said on the subject.

Camden, justly called "the learned", tells us in his "Remaines", "Mortimer and Warren are accounted names of great antiquity, yet the father of them (for they were brethren) who first bore these names was Walter de Sancto Martino." This is a very positive statement, and Camden was not a reckless asserter; but, unfortunately, he has not cited his authority. Dugdale, following nearly in the same track, says, "The first of this name that I have ob-

served is Roger de Mortimer, by some thought to be the son of William de Warren, by others of Walter de St. Martin, brother of that William." And further on he adds, that this "Roger de Mortimer was by consanguinity allied to William the Conqueror, his mother being niece to Gunnora, wife to Richard Duke of Normandy, and great-grandmother to the Conqueror." For this latter statement he relies on Guillaume de Jumièges, the Norman contemporary genealogist, to whom we are indebted for so much interesting information of this description, and it is probable that Camden speaks on the same respectable authority. Augustine Vincent, another great writer on these subjects, in a book marked B 2 in the College of Arms, has given, it may be on the same authority, a nameless lady to the said Walter for wife, whom he states to have been the niece of Gunnora, Duchess of Normandy, but still further identifies her as the daughter of Herfastus the Dane (brother of the said Gunnora), and sister of Osborn de Crepon. By this lady Walter de St. Martino is supposed to have had two sons, one named William de Warren and the other *Radulfus de Mortimer*.

Watson, in his "History of the Earls of Warren," though he quotes this statement, gives a different descent altogether, making Walter de St. Martin father only of a William de Warren, who by a daughter of Ralph de Torta had another William de Warren, first Earl of Surrey, *Ralph de Mortimer*, and a third son, named Eudo.

Now, much of this is very vague, and that which is circumstantial is unsupported by evidence, and contradicted on equally good authority. The words of William de Jumièges are "*Nepotes vero plures prædicta Gunnor habuit una itaque earum matrimonio copulata est patri primi Willelmi de Warren, ex qua natus est idem Willelmus postea Comes Surrie et Roger de Mortuomari frater ipsius. Altera Nicholas de Bascherville ex cujus posteritate natus est Willelmus Martellios et Walterus de Sancto Martino.*" According, therefore, to this clear description, Roger de Mortimer was the brother of William de Warren, first Earl of Surrey, as Camden states, but their father was not, as he adds, Walter de St. Martin, for the chronicler distinctly says that Walter was descended from Nicholas de Bascherville (Basqueville), the husband of another niece of Gunnora,

and was consequently a first cousin of Roger de Mortimer, perhaps once or twice removed, and certainly not *father* of either Warren or Mortimer, or brother of the former, as Dugdale says he “is *thought* to be by others,” one of such others being undoubtedly Camden.

Ordericus Vitalis, who wrote in the reign of Henry I, makes William the Conqueror say that William de Warren was a kinsman of Roger de Mortimer. “*Consanguineus ejus*” is the expression he uses, and not “*frater*,” as he would surely have done had he been a brother even of the half blood. This nearly contemporary authority therefore appears to contradict the positive statement of the monk of Jumièges, and is also in opposition to the descent given by Watson, who makes William de Warren, first Earl of Surrey, the brother of a *Ralph* and not a *Roger* de Mortimer. Now, let us see how far these assertions—for they really amount to nothing more—are borne out or disproved by evidence and comparison of dates.

There can be no doubt that Mortimer (Latinised, Mortuomari), the locality from which the surname of the family was assumed, is situate in that portion of Normandy known as the Pays de Caux, and at the source of the river Eaulne; that the Castle of St. Victor en Caux was the *caput baroniæ* of the family, and that it was in the possession of a Roger de Mortimer anterior to the invasion of England as in 1054. Twelve years previous to that event, Eudo or Odo, brother of Henry, first king of France, invaded the territory of Evereux, and William, then Duke of Normandy, sent this Roger de Mortimer, at that time his general, with Robert Comte D’Eu and others, to oppose him, which they did successfully, giving him battle near the Castle of Mortimer, defeating him with great slaughter, and taking prisoner Guy Comte de Ponthieu. Ralph III, surnamed “the Great,” Comte de Valois and Amiens, called by Ordericus, Count de Montdidier, who was on the side of the French, took refuge in the Castle of Mortimer, where he was sheltered by Roger, who had formerly sworn fealty to him, entertained for three days, and safely conducted to his own territories. For this breach of duty to Duke William Roger de Mortimer was banished from Normandy, and all his possessions confiscated; but being afterwards reconciled to the Duke, he restored them all to him, with the excep-

tion of the Castle of Mortimer, in which he had received William's enemy, Count Ralph, and that the Duke gave to William de Warren, one of his loyal *young* vassals, whom, as I have already mentioned, Ordericus makes the Duke describe as a cousin or kinsman of Roger de Mortimer: "Sed Guillelmo de Guarrena *consanguineo ejus tyroni legitimo dedi.*" This Roger de Mortimer was living in 1074, when, upon the petition of himself and his wife, Hadewisa, a priory which had been established at St. Victor as a cell to the Abbey of St. Ouen was itself erected into an abbey.

This Hadewisa had of her own inheritance the Vill of Mees, at the mouth of the river Bresle, in the diocese of Amiens, and the district called Le Vimieu, and her gifts to the Abbey of St. Victor at this place were confirmed in 1192 by Theobald Bishop of Amiens. Montdidier is in the same diocese, and had been forcibly seized by Ralph Comte d'Amiens, who eventually died there; and it has been remarked that Roger de Mortimer had most probably done homage to Count Ralph by reason of these lands as held of his fief, and given to him in frank marriage with his daughter,¹ though Ordericus, in making King William allude to the oath of fealty, does not assign the reason for it, or hint that Roger de Mortimer was the Count's son-in-law.

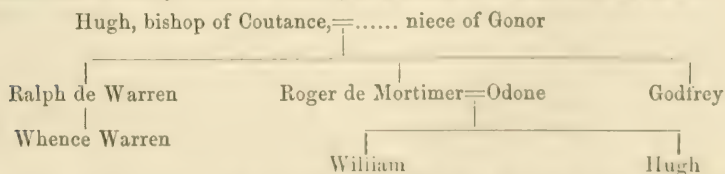
Here, at any rate, is some very important light thrown upon the pedigree of Mortimer, as none of the ancient or later genealogists have mentioned the wife of this Roger de Mortimer, notwithstanding her illustrious descent. Still you find that upon the principal question, who was the father of this Roger de Mortimer, we have no conclusive evidence. As the commander of the expedition against the French Prince, and the conqueror in the Battle of Mortimer, in 1054, it is at least clear that he could not be the son of the *young* William de Warren, to whom the Castle of Mortimer was given by the Duke of Normandy; and if the said *young* William de Warren was the father of the William de Warren made first Earl of Surrey by William Rufus, *à fortiori*, Roger de Mortimer could not be *his* son any more than he could be his brother. Nor have we any satisfactory evidence that Walter de St. Martin was even the father of any William de Warren. The statements to that effect are purely hypothetical, and the argu-

¹ Stapleton, *Observations on the Norman Rolls of the Exchequer.*

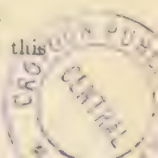
ments founded on an assumed similarity between the arms of Warren and Mortimer unworthy of notice at the present day, when the existence of regular armorial bearings previous to the Conquest has been completely disproved. Until, therefore, we are fortunate enough to exhume some charter or other irreproachable instrument which may enlighten us on the subject, we have no fact to start from of an earlier date than the existence of the Roger de Mortimer commanding the troops of William Duke of Normandy in 1054, at the Battle of Mortimer, so called from its having taken place near his own castle, in which he afterwards sheltered his father-in-law, Ralph Count de Valois and Amiens.¹

His age at that period we cannot determine any more than his parentage; but we see that he was married, in possession of the family estates, and had attained sufficient military rank and reputation to be intrusted by Duke William with the command of his forces. He was probably in the great expedition to England and present at the Battle of Hastings in 1066, and was living, as well as his wife, Hadewisa, in 1074, as I have just proved to you. By that wife he had at least one son, named Ralph (after his maternal grandfather?), who is also supposed to have been present at Hastings, and who by his wife, Miliscent (Milisendis), had two or more sons, and a daughter named Hadewisa (Hawisia, Havisa, Avicia) after her grandmother, and whom he bestowed in marriage, with certain lands in the territory of Montdidier, on Stephen Count of Aumale, as we learn from a grant of the said Stephen to the Church of St. Martin des Champs, a Cluniac priory in one of the suburbs of Paris. In that document he states his benefaction to be made with the consent of Havisa, his wife, and her father, Radulphus

¹ I am unwilling to add to this list of contradictory and unsupported assertions; but I should be hardly justified in omitting to state that I have somewhere seen a widely different heading to a pedigree of Mortimer, as thus:



Having unfortunately lost my reference, I am unable to test the value of this information.



de Mortuomari, and for the redemption of his own soul and that of his wife, the aforesaid Havisa, and of the aforesaid Ralph, and of Milisendis, his wife, *then deceased*. Sir Ralph de Mortimer was the founder of a college at Wigmore in the year 1100, which was erected into an abbey, according to instructions, we are told, given on his death-bed, and carried out completely by Hugh de Mortimer, his son, in 1179. This date is rather startling, and has induced Mr. Stapleton to raise a doubt as to its correctness. Hugh de Mortimer, who was the son of Ralph and Miliscent, is said to have died in 1185. What age could he then have been when his father died, having survived him eighty-five years? And how was it that seventy-nine years elapsed before the abbey was built, in obedience to the death-bed instructions of his father?

Mr. Stapleton suggests that the Hugh de Mortimer who died in 1185 was the grandson of Ralph and the son of a previous Hugh; but no trace can be found of such a personage, and we have nothing beyond the suspicion created by the dates to justify our doubting the assertion that the abbey was built and endowed at the sole expense of Hugh, the son of Ralph, to whom the honour of founding the abbey ought to be conceded, giving his father credit for the pious injunction. I am therefore inclined to believe the mistake is in the dates, and not in the individuals.

But I have not done yet with Roger de Mortimer and his wife, Havisa. Had they no other surviving issue but Ralph? Nay, was Roger de Mortimer the first of that name, and in 1054 the sole bearer of it? It is possible, but not proved; and we shall find a line of Mortimers presently who must have descended from very near collaterals, if not directly from Roger or his son Ralph. Then who was Miliscent, the wife of Ralph? Her family name is not mentioned by the Count d'Aumale in his confirmation charter, which is our only authority for her baptismal appellation. Vincent and Dugdale make no guess at it; but Segur, in a MS. Baronagium in the College of Arms, has interlineated in his pedigree of Mortimer of Wigmore this startling assertion, "Ralph came in with the Conqueror, and married the Countess of Gloucester." Where Segur picked up this piece of information he does not say, and we

¹ Observations on the Norman Rolls of the Exchequer.

are therefore unable to test its value. The only Miliscent, Countess of Gloucester, known to us was the daughter of Hugh de Gournay, wife first of Almarice de Montfort, Earl of Gloucester (5th of John, 1204), and secondly, of William de Cantelupe, by whom she was the mother of the Bishop of Hereford, and therefore could not by any possibility be our Miliscent, who we know was dead in 1100. It is most provoking to be left thus continually in the dark respecting the families of the wives of these Norman nobles. A knowledge of them would frequently be of the greatest importance to English history, by accounting in many instances for the acts of their husbands.

We have a remarkable example in the fact I have just now communicated to you respecting Havisa de Mortimer, the wife of Roger de Mortimer. Her being the daughter of the Count of Amiens at once discloses the difficult position in which Mortimer was placed between his sovereign and his father-in-law, to both of whom he had sworn fealty, and explains the excuse Duke William candidly admitted he had for sheltering his prince's enemy. A similar discovery regarding Miliscent might as satisfactorily account for the conduct of her husband, Ralph, who is one day in arms against his sovereign and the next for him, without any motive being assigned in history for the tergiversation. Matrimonial alliances and family discussions have naturally influenced, and will continue to influence, the actions of public men, and history is constantly corrected and illustrated by a disclosure of those secret springs of action which have their rise in private interests and feelings. I therefore say, with the French lieutenant de police, "*Cherchez la femme*;" and depend upon it nine times out of ten you will arrive at the truth of the story.

To return to our pedigree. Ralph de Mortimer is stated to have died in Normandy, in the nones of August, 1100, leaving issue by Miliscent, his eldest son and heir, Hugh, as before mentioned, another son, named William, and a daughter, Havisa, the wife, as previously stated, of Stephen Count of Aumale. He is presumed to have had other children, but of the above three we have positive proofs. Of Hugh, the eldest son, and successor, we will speak anon, as there is a serious error in all the published pedigrees respecting his brother William, which I will dispose of at once. This

William de Mortimer, styled as of Chelmarsh, and also of Netherby, by gift of his brother, is stated by Dugdale and all the genealogists to have died without issue. Mr. Stapleton, however, was in possession of a charter of "Hugh, son of Ralph, and grandson of Roger de Mortimer," confirming the endowment of St. Victor de Caux, which was witnessed by Hugh and William, his sons, and *William his brother* (the person in question), and *Robert and Ralph, the sons of the latter William*. Moreover, Mr. Stapleton identified this Robert, son of William, with the Robert de Mortimer who acquired the fiefs at Attleborough, in Norfolk, either by marriage or new feofment, and was the progenitor of the line of Mortimer of Attleborough,¹ a most valuable fact, as the source of that branch had never before been determined, and some writers had even gone so far as to consider those Mortimers in no way connected with the Mortimers of Wigmore.

We will now proceed with the direct line, and here we encounter another and most preposterous error, which has been repeated to nearly the present day, respecting the wife of Hugh, whose baptismal name was Matilda. The monkish Latin historian of the house of Mortimer has absurdly described her as daughter of William Longuespée, Duke of Normandy, in defiance of all chronology; and, as Mr. Stapleton has observed in his notes on the Norman exchequer rolls, Dugdale has coolly admitted this astounding alliance, fabricated, Mr. Stapleton suggests, to enhance the nobility of the founders of the Priory of Wigmore. In exposing the error, however, he has not attempted to supply the correct information. A MS. note by Vincent, in a pedigree of Mortimer in the College of Arms, has fortunately enabled me to do so. The reference is vaguely to a plea roll of the 28th of Henry III, for the county of Huntingdon; and by the kind assistance of Mr. Bond, assistant keeper of the public records, I have been enabled to discover the particular roll referred to, which is a "coram rege in banco" roll for Easter term in the above year. Memb. 6. It records a suit of Ralph de Mortimer against Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, as to the right to four carrucates of land at Kinebanton (Kimbolton), in the county of Huntingdon, which Ralph claims as having been held by his ancestress,

¹ *History of the House of Gournay*, by Daniel Gurney, Esq.

Matilda la Meschine, in her own right in the time of King Henry the Elder (*i.e.* Henry I), grandfather of the grandfather of the king then reigning, and the descent of their property is subsequently set forth in the most explicit terms, showing that it came by inheritance; first, to Roger de Mortimer, *son and heir of the said Matilda*; secondly, to Hugh, son and heir of the said Roger, and by the death of the said Hugh without issue to the plaintiff, Ralph, as brother and heir of Hugh.¹ This clear recital identifies *Matilda la Meschine* as the wife of the first Hugh de Mortimer, which the mere declaration of Ralph that she was his “ancestress” would not have done. She was, in fact, his grandmother; and the only question now remaining is as regards the appellation of “*La Meschine*.” It was used in the twelfth century in the sense of the younger or junior, and by the error of later copyists the article *la* or *le* having been constantly converted into *de*, has been mistaken for a family name; and what is particularly to be observed in this inquiry is the fact that the principal instance of this error occurs in the cases of Ranulph and William le Meschin, nephews of Hugh Earl of Chester, whom you will find called Ranulph and William *de Meschin*, or *de Mischinus* in the

¹ I give the Office copy of the original record :

“Placita de Banco, 28 Henry III, Easter.—Placita apud Westm’ coram Rog’o de Thurkileby & sociis suis a die Pasch’ in xv. dies anno R. R. II. fil. R. Joh’is xxviii^o.

“Adh’c de Tercia septim’ Pasch’. Hunt. ss. Rad’s de Mortuo Mari pet’ v’ II. de Bohun Com’ Heref’ q’tuor car’ t’re cu’ p’t in Kenebanton ut jus suu’ &c. p’ pree’ in cap. Et un’ idem Rad’s dic’ q’d queda’ Matill’ la Meschine antec’ ip’ius Rad’i fuit seis’ in d’nico suo ut de feodo & jure t’p’e II. r’ sen’is Avi avi D’ni r’ anno et die quo fuit vivva & mortua cap’ in’ espl’ ad val’n’ xxx. &c. Et de ip’a Matill’ descend’ jus t’re illi’ cuid’m Rog’o ut fil’ & he’di &c. Et de ip’o Rog’o cuida’ Hug’ ut fil’ & he’di. Et q’ p’d’e’s Hug’ obiit s’n h’ede de se descendit jus t’re illi’ p’d’co Rad’o qui nu’c pet’ ut f’ri & h’edi. Et q’d tale sit jus suu’ off’t &c.

“Et Com’ ven’ & defend’ jus suu’ q’n’ &c. Et dic’ q’d non debet ad hoc b’re respondere q’ia defic’ menc’oem fac’ in narra’o’e sua de t’p’e II. r’ sen’is & i’ constituc’o’e que f’c’a fuit ap’d M’ton p’vis fuit q’d n’l’l’s implacitaret’ de tam antiquo t’p’e p’ aliq’d b’re n’i i’pet’tum fuisset inf’ t’p’s ill’d quod p’fixu’ fuit in ead’ constituc’o’e & b’re istud i’pet’tum fuit p’t temp’ ill’d pet’ jud’ si deb’at ad hoc b’re respondere.

“Et Rad’s b’n cogn’ q’d b’re suu’ impet’tum est p’t p’d’e’m temp’ sed die’ q’d impet’vat quodda’ b’re ante p’d’e’am constituc’o’em de p’d’e’a t’ra p’ quod i’placitav’t p’d’e’m Com’ & p’ q’ndam defalta’ q’ fec’ v’ eunde’ Com’ in Cur’ D’ni & amis’ b’re suu’ un’ die’ q’d sibi videt’ q’d p’ impet’e’oem illi’ b’ris p’petuet’ ej’ ac’c’o & pet’ judiciu’. Et Com’ pet’ sibi allocari q’d p’d’e’s Rad’s cogn’ q’d amis’ bre’ suu’ p’ def’ q’ fec’ v’ ip’m & no’ p’ jud’. Et sil’r’ pet’ jud’ si deb’at ad hoc b’re respondere.”

greater number of ancient pedigrees.¹ While, therefore, it is just possible that the wife of Hugh was called Matilda la Meschine to distinguish her from an elder Matilda, I am inclined to believe her to have been of the family of Ranulph le Meschin, Earl of Carlisle, the probability being increased by the fact of the donation by her husband Hugh of the lordship of *Netherby in Cumberland* (which was held by Ranulph in the reign of Henry I) to his brother William, of Chelmarsh, it having come into Hugh's possession most likely by his marriage with Matilda. Her tenure of Kimbolton² may also lead to further proof of her origin. At all events, we have here gained a considerable step in the inquiry.

We will now proceed with her issue by Hugh, which appears to have consisted of four sons. Roger, the eldest, as shown by the plea roll just described, Hugh, Ralph, and William. Hugh married Felicia de Sancto Sidonio, and was killed in a tournament at Worcester, in 1202, leaving no issue. William, mentioned with Hugh as witnesses to their father's charter of confirmation to St. Victor de Caux, before alluded to, is also stated to have died "sine prole," probably unmarried. Of Ralph we at present know nothing beyond his name, and we hear of no daughters, though it by no means follows that there were none. And here I think I must take the liberty to digress a little, and call your attention to the fact that there were living at this period several Mortimers, who must have been very near relations of those we have enumerated, although we are at present unable to affiliate them. In the MS. collections of Glover Somerset Herald College of Arms I found the copy of a grant of land by Guy de Mortimer and Idonea, his wife, which furnishes us with the earliest documentary evidence of some sort of connexion with the family of St. Martin. It runs as follows: "I, Wydo de Mortimer, and Idonea, my wife, give to Alured de St. Martin the land called Promhill." This grant being confirmed by Idonea de Herste (probably a daughter of the granters), Robert, her son, Waleran de Herste, and his son, William de Munceaux. The original grant is not dated, but must have been anterior to 1176, as in that year Alured de St. Martin gives to the monks of

¹ Dugdale has printed it "de Maschænus" and "de Mæschines," and it is even written with the "de" in the MSS. of the thirteenth century.

² At the time of the General Survey, *temp.* William the Conqueror, Kenebanton was held by William de Warren.

Robertsbridge the land of Promhill, which Wydo de Mortimer and Idonea, his wife, and their heirs, gave to him. (Glover's Coll. B. College of Arms.) This Wydo or Guy de Mortimer must therefore have been a contemporary at the latest with the first Hugh de Mortimer, if not of his father, Ralph, and may have been a younger brother of the latter. You will observe there is no hint of any consanguinity between Guy and Alured, nor is the motive for the gift mentioned, and I am inclined to believe that the families of Mortimer and St. Martin were connected by marriage only. At all events, here is a Mortimer who has never yet figured in any pedigree of the family, and who must at the latest have been living at the commencement of the twelfth century. There was also a Bartholomew de Mortimer living at the close of that century. He was a companion in arms of Richard Cœur de Lion, and is mentioned by Richard's biographer, Geoffrey de Vinesauf, as being present in the brilliant action before Joppa, in 1192. His name also appears in a fine roll of the 2nd of John, A.D. 1200. Could he be the same Bartholomew de Mortimer who married Lucia de Clifford, the mother of Hugh de Say, whose heiress, Margaret, brought Ricardi Castrum (Richard's Castle) into the family of Mortimer? I think the dates will scarcely allow of it, but in either case we have no clue to the parentage of any Bartholomew de Mortimer. The husband of Margaret de Say was a Robert de Mortimer, but he has never been satisfactorily affiliated, and the branch of Mortimer of Richard's Castle has yet to be traced to its offshoot from the parent tree. A Robert de Mortimer appears as a witness to the charter of William de Warren to the priory of Castle Acre, in Norfolk, before 1089. That Robert must have been contemporary with the first Ralph, and perhaps with his father, Roger de Mortimer, who was living in 1074. My special business on this occasion, however, is with the main line, Mortimer of Wigmore, and I will now therefore return to its continuator, the second Roger de Mortimer, son and heir of Hugh and Matilda la Meschine. By his wife, Isabella, daughter of Walcheline de Ferrers, he left issue four sons—Hugh, who succeeded him, Ralph, eventually heir to his brother Hugh, Philip, and Robert. The monkish genealogist of the family has given Roger a previous wife, whom he calls "Milisent, daughter of . . . Earl of Derby," without specifying the particular

Earl, and in some pedigrees she is made the mother of Hugh and of two daughters. There is, however, clear proof that Hugh was the son of Isabella de Ferrers, who survived her husband, and re-married with Peter Fitz-Herbert ; and Mr. Stapleton doubts altogether the existence of any former wife, and considers that the monkish historian has had in view Milisendis, the wife of the first Ralph de Mortimer, brought her down two generations, and married her to her grandson Roger ! It would certainly not be a solitary instance of confusion in this writer ; and even the date he gives of the death of Roger, 24th June, 1215, is incorrect, for on the 19th day of August, 1214, the King (John) ordered the issues forth of the lands of Roger Mortimer, *then deceased*, to be allowed to his son Hugh, who is in the same document shown to have been the son of Isabella, and not of Miliscent, as represented by the same monkish historian. Dugdale, who inserts in his pedigree two daughters by this supposed first wife, without mentioning their names, marries one to Stephen le Gros and the other to a Walcheline de Beauchamp. The first is an evident confusion with the daughter of Ralph and Miliscent, who, as you have seen, married Stephen Count of Aumale, whose son William was surnamed le Gros. For the second there is more support in the fact that the issues forth of the lands of *Watkin* de Beauchamp were allowed by King John, in 1214, to Isabella de Mortimer, then widow of Roger de Mortimer, with those of her own lands, which had been seized by the King on the death of the said Roger. It is therefore probable that *she* might have had a daughter married to Walcheline or Watkin de Beauchamp ; and I find a Petronilla de Mortimer named in a fine roll of the 6th of John (eight years previously), whom I have not been able to affiliate, while it is worthy of note that Petronilla is the name of a daughter of the second Robert de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and niece of Isabella de Mortimer. In none of the pedigrees, however, of either Ferrers or Beauchamp have I been able to find any evidence to support these assertions.

Of Philip and Robert, the two youngest sons of Roger and Isabella, I have found nothing except the confirmation by Philip of grants by Hugh de Tournay to St. Nicholas, Exeter.

Hugh de Mortimer, eldest son and heir of Roger and

Isabella, died in the lifetime of his mother, 10th November, 1227, without issue by his wife Annora, daughter of William de Braose, and sister of Giles de Braose, Bishop of Hereford (Rot. Pat. 16 John, 1214), and was succeeded in the lordship of Wigmore by his next brother, Ralph de Mortimer, who had married Gladusa, daughter of Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, and widow of Reginald de Braose. By this lady he had two sons, Roger and Hugh. The latter married Agatha, daughter and co-heir of William de Ferrers, Earl of Derby, and eventually one of the heirs of Walter Marshal, Earl of Pembroke. From this marriage descended the line of Mortimer of Chelmarsh, which terminated in the fourth generation in heirs female. Segur gives Ralph and Gladusa two other sons, Peter and John, the latter a greyfriar at Shrewsbury, making Hugh the third son.

Roger, the eldest son, and heir of Ralph, married Maud, daughter and heir of William de Braose, of Breckwood, and of Eva, his wife. They had issue Ralph and Geoffrey, who died *vita patris*; William, who married Hawisia de Mucegror, and died without issue; Roger, who married Lucia, daughter and heir of Sir Robert de Wafre, and from whom the line of Mortimer of Chirke; and Edmund, who succeeded his father as Lord of Wigmore, and by his wife, Margaret, daughter of William Lord Fiennes, was father of Roger de Mortimer, first Earl of March.

From this point all is but too clear in the descent of the main line. The tragedy at Berkeley, followed by the sudden and terrible vengeance at Nottingham—the royal marriages, which gave rise to the wars of the Roses—all the vicissitudes of this great family, down to the extinguishing of “the dusky torch of Mortimer,” are so interwoven with the history of England that it is unnecessary for me to repeat a series of familiar facts which I can neither dispute nor illustrate. Let me rather occupy the little space that remains with a few words respecting the armorial bearings of the Mortimers.

The well known coat of Mortimer of Wigmore is one of the most remarkable in the whole catalogue of English armory, and has been selected to test the skill of the tyro in heraldry in the art of blazon.

The most popular description (for there are several) runs thus: Barry of six pieces *or* and *azure*, on a chief of the



first two pallets between as many base esquires of the second, over all an inescutcheon *argent*. Some writers blazon the chief "paly, the corners girony," but this is not so satisfactory, and might mislead the painter.

The theory propounded by Watson and others to support the tradition of the Warrens and Mortimers being of the same stock will not hold water for an instant. Independently of the now fully admitted fact, to which I have before alluded, namely, the non-existence of regular heraldic bearings at the period to which those writers refer for the assumption of the arms, those of Warren have always been chequy *or* and *azure*, and are as distinct from the singular coat of Mortimer as anything can well be imagined. Who was the first bearer of that coat I cannot pretend to decide, but I should be inclined to presume it was Roger de Mortimer, the husband of Isabella de Ferrers, and who died 17th of John (1216). It might possibly, however, have been assumed by his father, Hugh de Mortimer, the husband of Matilda la Meschine, and who died in 1185, as armorial ensigns had just about that period begun to take a regular heraldic form; and if we could affiliate the wives of Hugh and of his father, Ralph, some light might be thrown upon their coat armour. The arms of the Mortimers of Richard's Castle and those of Attleborough differ entirely from those of the main line, both being charged with fleurs-de-lys, Attleborough bearing *or* semée-de-lys *sable*, and Richard's Castle barry of six *or* and *vert*, semée-de-lys *counterchanged*. This coat is indicated on the seal of Hugh the second Lord of Richard's Castle, while, as another variety, Hugh, the last of that name and honour, is said in the year of the siege of Kaerlaverock (*temp.* Ed. I) to have borne *gules* two bars *rair* on his banner. His brother William, called Zouche de Mortimer, we find bearing a variation of his mother's arms, the heiress of Zouche, *argent bezantée*. In this case we see the reason of the change of coat, and it is an important example of the practice prevalent at this period. Mr. Daniel Gurney, in his magnificent work before mentioned, has also further illustrated this practice by engraving other varieties of the arms of Mortimer of Attleborough, as formerly displayed in the church at Attleborough, viz., first, *or* semée-de-lys *sable*, with a border *gules*; second, with a border engrailed *gules*; third, with a bend gobony *argent* and *gules*;

and, fourth, with a label of three points *gules* : but I cannot venture to appropriate them to their respective bearers. Mr. Gurney also engraves a variety of the coat of Richard's Castle, giving one shield barry of four only. Nothing but the identification of the wives of these early Norman knights and nobles can enable us to arrive at some rational conclusion as to the origin of the greater portion of the arms assumed by them. It is to this point of inquiry that I direct all my attention, and am surprised to find that I am the first genealogist who appears to have been impressed with the full importance of such information. The unfortunate neglect of writers in whose time its collection might have been an easy task cannot be too much deplored, as in so many cases it may be now utterly impracticable. The idea arising from all these variations, of the Mortimers of Attleborough being a totally different family to that of Wigmore, is now set at rest by Mr. Stapleton's discovery of the actual link of connection between them. And though we cannot as yet point with equal certainty to the origin of the branch of Richard's Castle, there can be no rational doubt of it being of the same blood as that which mingled with the Plantagenets and Tudors, and still flows in the veins of the royal family of England.

ON A DOUGLAS HEART

IN THE POSSESSION OF THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD BOSTON,
VICE-PRESIDENT.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE foul murder of my great ancestor, the "Red Cumin," before the high altar of the Minorites at Dumfries, in the year 1306-7, naturally kindled the ire of the church against the assassin, on whom Rome thundered her bitterest anathemas, and pronounced the curse of excommunication.¹ "That fell

¹ It is much to be regretted, for the sake of truth and justice, that the narratives we have of the murder of the "Red Cumin," come to us through the partisans of the Earl of Carrick. There can, however, be scarcely a doubt but that it was a premeditated act; and the opportune presence, at the gate of the Grey Friars' Church, of James de Lindsay and Kirkpatrick of Closeburn, to "make sicker," has all the aspect of its having been the result of a deep-laid conspiracy to clear the way for Bruce's advance to the Scottish throne, his claim to which

homicide the Bruce" could not deny, but vainly strove to palliate his sacrilegious crime, and vowed repentance and pilgrimage to the Holy Land in expiation of the sanguinary deed. Hence Sir Walter Scott makes the Earl of Carrick say in *The Lord of the Isles*—

"Heaven knows my purpose to atone,
Far as I may, the evil done ;
And here's a penitent's appeal
From papal curse and prelate's zeal.
My first and dearest task achieved,
Fair Scotland from her thrall relieved,
Shall many a priest in cope and stole
Say requiem for Red Comyn's soul,
While I the blessed cross advance,
And expiate this unhappy chance
In Palestine, with sword and lance."

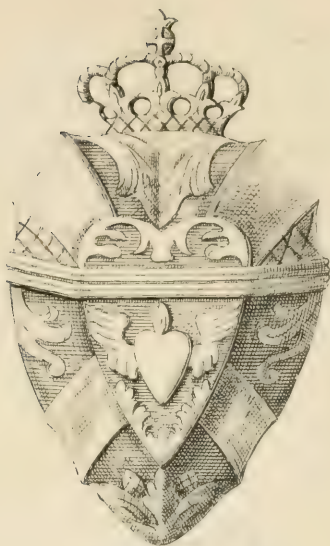
(Canto 11, v. 29.)

Bruce found as little repugnance in breaking his vow of pilgrimage as he had previously done his oath of fealty to King Edward of England, but feeling that his life was drawing to a close, and his conscience pricking him at the last, he directed that when the vital spark was extinguished, his heart should be extracted from his corpse and borne to the east by his faithful adherent, Sir James Douglas, and buried beside the tomb of the Redeemer. These wishes and commands are quaintly set forth in an inscription graven on the blade of an old sword in the possession of the Douglas family, on which also appears a heart between two hands, with the date 1329 :—

"So mony guid as of ye Douglas beinge,
Of ane surname was ne'er in Scotland seine ;
I will ye charge, efter yet I depart,
To holy grave, and thair bury my hart ;
Let it remane ever bothe tyme and howr,
To ye last day I see my Saviour.
I do protest in tyme of all my singe,
Ye lyk subject had never ony keing."

Bruce died in the year 1329, and his heart, being duly removed from his body, was consigned to the charge of Sir

was confessedly inferior to that of the Lord of Badenoch, whose right rested in his descent, on the father's side, from Hexilda, granddaughter of King Donald Bane ; and on his mother's side, from Margaret, *eldest* daughter of David Earl of Huntingdon, brother of King William the Lyon. Here, then, is enough to account for the assassination of the brave chieftain, and the fell persecution and ruthless plunder of his kinsmen. At the same time with the "Red Cumin" was murdered his uncle Robert, the ancestor of Sir William Gordon Cumming, Bart., of Altyre.



Shield on back

COAT OF ARMS
in the possession of Lord Boston



James Douglas, who started on his mission, but arriving in Spain at a moment when the Crescent and the Cross were about to engage in martial strife, he joined the Christian forces, and fell fighting at the head of his Scottish band. The command of the expedition thus devolved on Sir Simon Loccard, who, having got possession of the famous *Lee Penny*, turned homeward with the heart of Bruce, which at length found a resting place in the Abbey of Dunfermline.¹

Though death frustrated Sir James's intention of proceeding to the east, the Douglas thought fit to commemorate the mission by adopting the heart of Bruce as an heraldic charge. The family originally bore for arms, *azure*, three stars *argent*, but subsequent to the event here mentioned the paternal coat displayed *argent*, a human heart *gules*, ensigned with a regal crown proper, on a chief *azure*, three stars of the first; and a heart, both crowned and uncrowned, winged and wingless, was assumed as a crest and cognisance by different branches of the House of Douglas, as may be seen on seals, trinkets, furniture, etc.

Among other devices on the famous "Otterbourne banner," preserved by the Douglas of Calvers, in Roxburghshire, appear two hearts, one close to the upper end of the sinister limb of a saltire, the other betwixt its lower limbs. Neither of those hearts is crowned, but they were beyond question typical of Sir James's abortive mission.

In the Museum of the Scottish Antiquaries at Edinburgh is preserved an antique finger-ring, stated to have been presented to Flora Macdonald by Prince Charles Edward as a parting souvenir, which exhibits the device of two hands holding a heart. This may, or may not, be intended for the cognisance of the Douglas; but less doubt attends the decoration of a "fede" ring of silver, found at Denebury Hill, near Andover, Hampshire. The clasped-hands, with a forget-me-not on each wrist, occupy the back of the hoop, whilst in front is a winged heart crowned, the points of the feathers being placed downwards to better suit the general design. Judging from the engraving of this trinket given in the *Gent. Mag.*, March, 1831, p. 211, I am disposed to assign it to the close of the fifteenth century. And the presence of the wings seems to indicate that it was made for a member of the Drumlanrig branch of the Douglas House.

¹ For a notice of the Lee penny, see *Journal*, xxi, 325; xxii, 305.
1838 5

who derive their lineage from James, second Earl of Douglas, the "Baron bold" of the ballad of Chevy-Chase.

One, perhaps, of the most noted examples of the Douglas heart in existence is the lovely trinket formerly at Strawberry Hill, and now the property of her most gracious Majesty the Queen. This elegant bijou was made by order of the Lady Margaret Douglas, in memory of her husband, Matthew Stuart, Earl of Lennox and Regent of Scotland, who was murdered in 1571. It is of gold and enamel, set with gems, the decorations consisting of emblematic figures, mottos, etc., conjoined letters M.S.L. (the initials of the defunct nobleman) being among the devices. This valuable relic formed lot 60 in the fifteenth day's sale of the Walpole treasures, and was knocked down for the sum of £141 : 15 : 0.

A crowned and jewelled heart of blue enamel, traditionally said to have belonged to Mary Stuart, and which is supposed to have once depended from the above described trinket, was formerly in the possession of the late Duke of Sussex, and afterwards in that of H. Farrer, the well-known dealer in antiques, who exhibited it among the art-treasures at the Adelphi in 1850, and again in the collection of Marian relics at the rooms of the Archæological Institute, in June 1857.

But it is time that we passed on to the Douglas heart, which has called forth the foregoing observations, and which I am permitted to bring to your notice by our noble and esteemed Vice-President, the Lord Boston, whose rich and inexhaustible stores have so often contributed to our amusement and instruction. This fine and curious example is of silver, fashioned as a reliquary, the upper part opening on a hinge at the back, and ensigned with a royal crown, the whole measuring two inches and three-quarters in height. The chased and graven decorations on this valuable case are of a highly interesting character. Both front and back display the broad saltire of the Bruce, upon the centre of which is placed a cordiformed shield or panel,¹ that on the face being charged with a winged heart, indicating, in all probability, that the reliquary was made for some member of the Drumlanrig

¹ Cordiformed shields are not very common; but for old and modern instances of their use, mention may be made of a jetton of Hans Krauwinkel, dated 1589, with the arms of France in a heart-shaped escutcheon; and of one of the marriage medals of the Prince of Wales, 1863, wherein the arms of England and Denmark are displayed in hearts.

line of Douglas; that on the dos being occupied by a basket of apples, the signification of which is yet to be discovered. We may feel assured that this charge is not a mere fancy of the artist, but carries with it a meaning like the rest of the details which combine to render this rare bijou of so much value. The crab-apple is the cognizance of Lamont, but I do not know if this clan was connected in any way with either Bruce or Douglas, and moreover it is the foliage rather than the fruit of the tree which constitutes the badge.

The general design and style of workmanship tells us that this beautiful reliquary was wrought circa 1600, and the red saltire of Bruce appearing so conspicuously upon it is suggestive that it was made as a receptacle for some memento of the Lord of Annandale, which may have been preserved by the Douglas from the days of the famous Sir James.

And I may here be allowed to observe that cordiformed reliquaries were formerly in great favour on both sides the border. The heart of Sir Robert Peckham, who died in 1569, was preserved in such a one of lead in Denham Church, Buckinghamshire;¹ and at Culross Abbey, Perthshire, is one of silver, containing the heart of Lord Edward Bruce, who fell by the hand of Sir Edward Sackville, in a duel fought in Holland in 1613.² After the death of King Charles I, the cavaliers wore about their persons cordi-formed reliquaries of silver containing chips of the fatal scaffold, sponge, cotton, and cloth stained with the royal blood, and hair cut from the anointed head of the martyred monarch.³ A silver reliquary of the form in question has long been in the possession of the Weston family of Sutton Place, Surrey, in which is enclosed a part of the pericardium of King James II. And the two jewelled hearts formerly at Strawberry Hill, the one containing the hair of Sir Robert Walpole, the other that of his first wife, Catherine Shorter, are late but interesting examples of an old conceit.

The death of the "Red Cumin," the professed contrition of the murderer, his vow of atoning pilgrimage to Palestine, the non-fulfilment of that vow, and pious subterfuge of

¹ See Lipscomb's *History of Buckingham*. iv, 451.

² *Archæologia*, xx, 516.

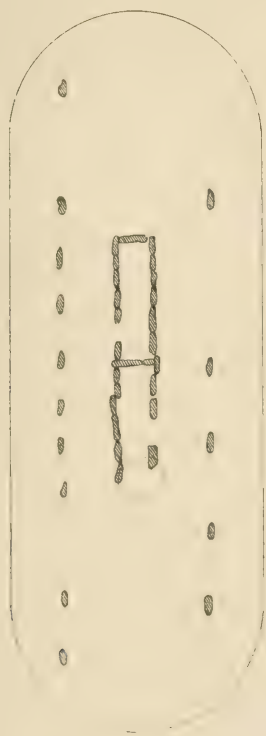
³ For notices of such reliquaries, see *Journal*, xi, 224; xvi, 291; xx, 322.

sending thither his heart after death, the mission of Sir James Douglas, and its failure, and the assumption of the heart of Bruce as an heraldic charge, form a chain of striking events, one consequent on the other, which, though spreading over but some five-and-twenty years, have left an impress on Scotland's story which will be as enduring as her mountain-rocks, and any object which tends to its illustration must ever be of the deepest interest both north and south of the Tweed. Hence our special thanks are due to our noble Vice-President, the Lord Boston, for now submitting his Douglas heart for our inspection.

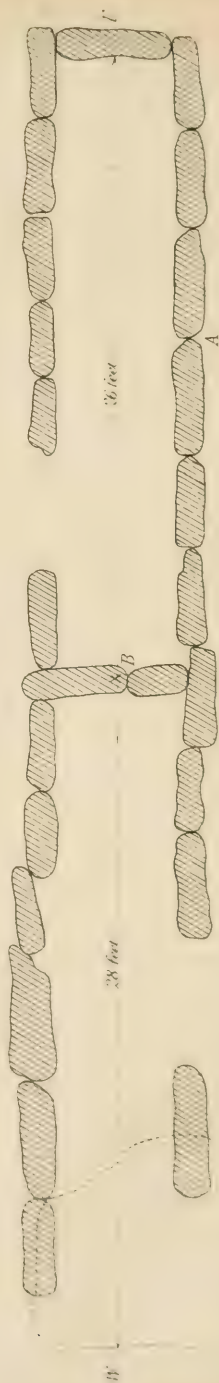
ON A REMARKABLE CHAMBERED LONG BARROW AT KERLESCANT, CARNAC, BRITTANY.

BY THE REV. W. C. LUKIS, M.A., F.S.A., ETC.

AMONG the many stone monuments of remote antiquity which abound in the commune of Carnac, there are few that merit the attention of archæologists more than the Long Barrow of Kerlescant. I do not know by what modern name it is designated by the peasants, but this is of little consequence, because it may be found easily by any one who will take the trouble to visit the Avenues of Kerlescant,—a series of “alignments de pierres” seldom visited, but quite as remarkable as those which are better known at Kervario, and at Menec, nearer to the “bourg” of Carnac. It is situated in a cultivated field on the north side of the Avenues, and at a distance from them of about one hundred paces. The mound is one hundred and fifty feet long, fifty feet wide, and about six feet high in its present reduced condition, and lies due east and west. The chamber which it contains is so entirely different from the other early monuments of the Morbihan, that I am surprised the archæologists of the department have not described it and made it known. I regret to add that it has been partially destroyed by stone-cutters for building purposes, and was emptied of its contents, about fifteen years ago, under the direction of a gentleman then living near Carnac. A great opportunity,—in some respects, from the peculiar and un-



Plan of Tumulus Scale $\frac{1}{4}$ inch to 10 feet



Plan of Chamber Scale $\frac{1}{8}$ inch to 1 foot

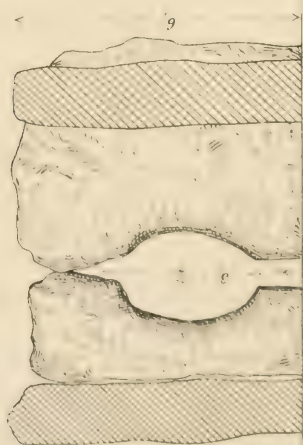
Chambered Long Barrow, Keshicatt, Carnac.





Elevation of Entrance at 4.

Scale 1/4 inch to one foot



Entrance to Western Compartment



usual character and construction of the tomb, one of the most favourable opportunities,—for ascertaining the burial customs of the period, has been irretrievably lost, through the unscientific and unmethodical way in which it has been explored.

The accompanying plan (plate 2) drawn to scale, will show its construction. It consists of a long narrow chamber, fifty-two feet in length, five feet in width (internal measurement), divided into two equal compartments by two upright stones of equal height (six feet) with the side walling stones; and was formerly roofed with massive slabs, one only of which remains at the west end, hardly spared by the masons, who had already chiselled a furrow for splitting it, when their destroying hands were happily arrested. This long and narrow building is surrounded by lines of upright stones placed at intervals about ten feet from the base of the mound, a feature so unusual in the Morbihan that I must direct especial attention to it. Three years ago an active and intelligent member of the "Société Polymathique" of this department assured me that this feature, which is not uncommon in Great Britain and Ireland and in the Channel Islands, was utterly unknown in the Morbihan, and so far as my own acquaintance with the chambered barrows of this portion of Brittany then extended, I was prepared to confirm his statement. I have planned a structure near Plounéour, another at Goulven, both in Finistère, and two others on "La Grée de Cojou," near St. Just in Ille et Vilaine, where similar external boundaries of stones exist. The Kerlescant example, therefore, merits special mention.

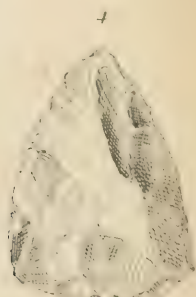
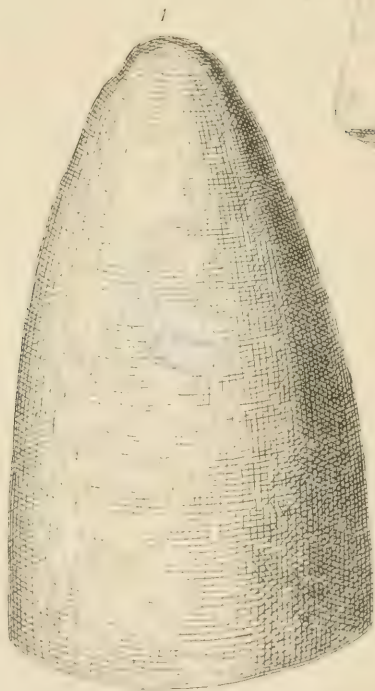
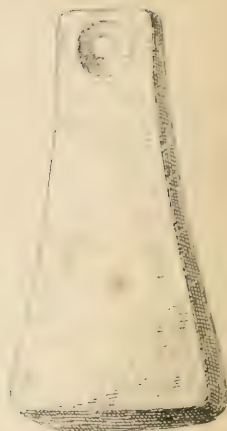
In what manner this tomb was originally approached I am unable to say, but at the present time a trench from the middle of the south side of the eastern compartment would seem to indicate that there had been a covered way or passage, constructed in the usual manner, which has disappeared, or some other form of passage which the excavators of 1851 were able to trace. This trench now conducts to an oval hole formed by cutting away a portion of two contiguous walling stones—a hole just large enough to enable a person of ordinary dimensions to creep through. A hole, somewhat larger, formed in the same way, between the two partition stones, gives access to the western compartment (plate 3). These holes appear to have been made with a pointed in-

strument, as there are traces of indentations, and then rubbed or pounded to a tolerably smooth surface. I have met with one other instance of this kind of entrance in the Commune of Carnac, viz., in the denuded chamber, about a mile distant from Kerlescant, near the village of Kerléarec, on the right bank of the river of Crach. This second structure is of enormous dimensions, the chamber being eighty-one feet in length, and six feet in width, and is erected in a north-north-east and south-south-west direction, with the oval opening at a distance of about twenty feet on the east side of the north-north-east extremity. It is probable that this building consists of two equal compartments, as in the former example ; and it is still covered by ten capstones.

I have planned two dilapidated monuments in Finistère which bear a striking resemblance to these structures, viz., "Garren-Dol," on the south border of the commune of Kerlouan, north of Lesneven, and "Parc-ar-Dolmen," between St. Pol de Léon and Roscoff. The former chamber is seventy-six feet long and six feet wide, running south-east and north-west, divided into two nearly equal compartments by a single upright stone, and has only three capstones in place. The latter is at the present time sixty-six feet long and about six feet wide, running east-south-east and west-north-west, and has five capstones remaining, but as the interior is filled with earth I cannot say if it has two compartments. On the south side near the eastern end there is what appears to be a side chamber, but it may be a portion of a covered way or passage leading to an eastern compartment. This kind of monument has the appellation among French archæologists of "Allée Couverte," a term altogether misapplied, for *allée couverte* strictly signifies a covered way or passage, whereas this is a long narrow *chamber* and no passage at all.

In Gloucestershire there are two examples of oval openings, which have been described by Mr. Lysons, viz., in the long barrows of Rodmarton and Avening, but in these instances the sepulchres are mere cists.

As before stated, this very interesting tomb at Kerlescant was excavated without care some years ago ; I can, therefore, only describe some of the contents which have come under my own observation after a partial examination of the excavated earth. I have been informed by the first

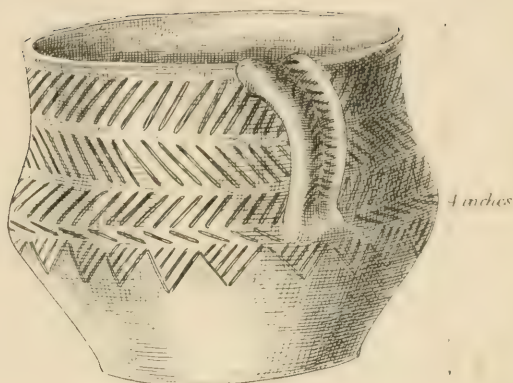


Objects found in Long Barrow, Berkshire



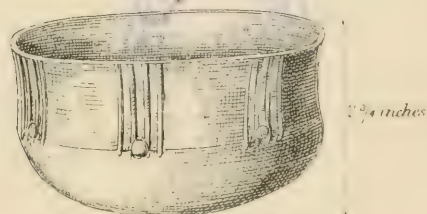
1

4 1/2 inches



2

6 inches



3

9 inches





explorer that both compartments were floored with irregular flat slabs, a common feature in these tombs ; and the slabs may now be seen on the earth heaps outside.

From the large quantities of broken pottery I have collected, the number and variety of vessels must have been very great. Some of the vessels are plain, of large dimensions, and of coarse clay, imperfectly baked, mingled with silicious grains. The outer crust is usually red and the inside black. Others are of red ware, of fine quality, richly ornamented with a variety of indented patterns ; and some have exceedingly minute impressions of threads, and of a stamp or mould of the use of which there are many evident traces. Others again are small, plain, and hemispherical ; and others of an uncommon form and ornamentation. These last are shallow round-bottomed basons of different sizes, with nearly perpendicular sides, on which at intervals are parallel lines in relief, placed perpendicularly in groups of four (plate 5, fig. 2). There is in the Vannes Museum a vessel of the same kind of brown ware with a similar ornamentation of groups of three parallel lines, which was found in the dilapidated chambered barrow of Er-roch near La Trinité-sur-mer ; and fragments of similar vessels have been found in the chambers of Kercando and Kerhiaval, all in the same commune. The ornament on one large vessel of coarse clay appears to have been made with the thumb-nail (plate 5, fig. 3), and another vessel has a well-developed handle (fig. 1). I have collected fragments of upwards of twenty different ornamented vessels, and of about sixty plain ones.

In the earth heaps outside of the eastern compartment I found a beautiful celt (of Feldspar Albite ? with red veins) (plate 4, fig. 1), three flint arrow points (figs. 2, 3, 4), and some flint scrapers and flakes ; and in the earth outside of the western compartment a flint rolled pebble with a natural hole (fig. 5), a necklace pendant of rock crystal (fig. 6), another pendant of yellowish stone (clay slate ?) (fig. 7), and several flakes and scrapers. The hole of the pebble shows traces of wear, and I am strengthened in my opinion of its having been strung as an ornament or charm by finding another flint pebble from the neighbouring sea-beach similarly pierced, associated with necklace beads in the chambered barrow of Kerhiaval. I also found a quartz muller or stone for pounding.

It is a circumstance which should be mentioned with reference to the flint arrow points, that the members of the Polymathique Society of the Morbihan, after fifteen years' labours, have succeeded in finding two only, and this circumstance has led them to remark that these objects are very rare in the department, but I entertain a different opinion, and conclude that they have not searched carefully, for in one chambered barrow I have found nine, in another three, and in a third one, and in each case after a previous disturbance of their contents. They are small objects, and easily escape detection, more particularly when explorers neglect to use a sieve. The truth is, explorations of these buildings are generally carried on too rapidly, especially by those whose place of residence is at a distance, as well as by those who employ paid labourers, to whom, therefore, time is of great consequence.

In a future article I propose describing another chambered barrow in the same commune, which I have found peculiarly rich in pottery and implements.

ON MILTON'S MASQUE OF "COMUS."

BY T. F. DILLON CROKER, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE scene of Milton's celebrated pastoral "Masque of Comus" having been laid in the immediate vicinity of Ludlow (a view of the town and castle being represented therein), a short account of that which was the best and last specimen of that class of entertainment will, it is hoped, prove interesting to the members of our Association.

Before reviewing the literary history of that work, it may not be out of place to recall the fact that it was during the reign of Henry VIII that "masques" (which, like all the pageantry and fashions of the time, came from Italy), with mimic plays and pageants, were originated and performed before the King and Wolsey, a predominant importance being given to them by the appointment of a special officer, called the Master of the Revels. Hall informs us that "on the daie of the Epiphane, at night (the precise year not given), the King, with xi others were disguised after the

manner of Italie, called a masque, a thing not sene afore in Englande: thei were appended in garmentes long and brode, wrought all with gold, with visers and cappes of gold, and after the banket doen these maskers came in with sixe gentlemen disguised in silke bearyng staffe torches, and desired the ladies to daunce; some were content, and some that knewe the fashion of it refused, because it was not a thyng commonly seen. And after thei daunced and com-moned together, as the fashion of the Maske is, thei toke their leaue and departed, and so did the Quene, and all the ladies."

"It will be remarked," says Collier, "that in the entries of the books of payment of King Henry VIII the terms maskelyn and masculers are used," which we learn from the same authority "mean nothing more than 'maskings and maskers,' now sometimes employed, as far as we can judge, in common with the older word 'desguisings.'"

To continue their history, we find that "masques" were constantly exhibited in the courts in the presence of Elizabeth (at Kenilworth, for example) and James I. on Sundays and days of religious festivity, and are reported to have been most splendid and expensive, English nobles also spending vast sums of money in vying with the continental courts in their production. In the reign of Charles I. masques and interludes were the most fashionable species of entertainment, the scenery and machinery of many of them having been invented by Inigo Jones; moreover, it was customary with the nobility to celebrate their weddings, birthdays, and other occasions of rejoicing, during the pauses of banquets, with such amusements, which often exhibited considerable magnificence of decoration. Lord Bacon has written an essay on Masques, and it would seem rather under protest, for he remarks that "these things are but toys," adding that "since princes will have such things, it is better that they should be graced with elegance than daubed with cost." This noble writer then gives his own idea of what a masque should be, concluding with the somewhat disparaging words, "enough of these toys."

Ben Jonson, it will be remembered, had given a dignity to such productions before Milton, who may be said to have etherealised the masques of former writers, and made of *Comus* more a poem than a play: for, as the elder D'Israeli

observes, *Comus* is a fine dramatic poem, retaining scarcely any of the features of the masque. This is a sufficient reference to the period preceding that of Milton—a period of which an elaborate account is to be found in Collier's *History of the Stage*, and other works. It is therefore unnecessary to digress further from the subject. In these few introductory words I have endeavoured to show the origin of that form of entertainment of which, as before stated, *Comus* may be considered the most important.

There are passages or phrases in this masque in which we may trace a similarity to the writings of Chaucer, Spenser, in his *Fairy Queen*; Shakspeare, notably in the *Tempest*; and other authors. The plot is also well known to bear a striking resemblance to a scarce old play by George Peele, called "*The Old Wives' Tale*, a pleasant conceited comedie, played by the Queen's Majesties' players, printed at London, 1595," in which, among other parallel incidents, are exhibited two brothers wandering in quest of their sister, whom an enchanter had imprisoned. This magician had learned his art from his mother, Merœ, as Comus had been instructed by his mother, Circe. The brothers call out on the lady's name, and Echo replies. The enchanter had given her a potion which suspends the power of reason and superinduces oblivion of herself. The brothers afterwards meet with an old man, who is also skilled in magic, and by listening to his soothsayings they recover their lost sister. From this there is much reason to believe that this old drama may have furnished Milton with the idea and plan of *Comus*, the points of resemblance traced by Warton being even stronger than those which have just been pointed out. Again, from Fletcher's *Faithful Shepherdess* and Browne's *Inner Temple Masque*, it is asserted that Milton may have taken some hints, as well as from the old English *Apuleius*, and it has been conjectured also that he framed *Comus* very much upon the episode of Circe in Homer's *Odyssey*, whilst another ingenious annotator contends that it is rather taken from the *Comus* of Erycius Puteanus, a tract published at Oxford, in 1634, the very year Milton's *Comus* was written. Be this as it may, and to whatever extent Milton may have been indebted either to the ancient writers or to those of his own time, it cannot be questioned that he has interwoven many new allusions and refined sentiments; and it has been well remarked that

his contemporaries can derive but little triumph from his admitting their images or expressions, his imitations being so generally adorned with new modes of sentiment or phraseology that they lose the nature of borrowings, and display the skill and originality of a master. Sir Egerton Brydges, in his life of Milton, observes that "*Comus* is the invention of a beautiful fable, enriched with shadowy beings and visionary delights ; every line and every word is pure poetry, and the sentiments are as exquisite as the images. It is a composition which no pen but Milton's could have produced ; though Shakspeare could have written many parts of it, yet with less regularity, and of course less philosophical thought and learning, less profundity and solemnity, but perhaps with more buoyancy and transparent flow." The obligation of Pope to Milton has been recognised, and Warton calls him the first writer of eminence who copied *Comus*. Having alluded to the various sources from which Milton (then in his twenty-sixth year) is said to have obtained his plot, or at least some valuable suggestion, there yet remains the story for which Oldys is the earliest known authority, that Lord Brackley, then aged twelve (who performed the part of the elder brother, and was the eldest surviving son of the Earl of Bridgewater), accompanied by the Honourable Thomas Egerton (who enacted the second brother), with their sister, the Lady Alice (who could not have been at that time more than thirteen, and who acted the lady), were on their way to Ludlow from the house of some relatives in Herefordshire, when they rested on their journey, and were benighted in Haywood Forest ; and this incident (the Lady Alice having been even lost for a short time) furnished, it is thought, the subject of *Comus* as the Michaelmas festivity, which was acted in the great hall of the Castle, the occasion being the installation of the Earl as president over the March of Wales, to which office he was nominated in 1631, but did not proceed to his official duties until some two years later. The early edition, a small quarto of thirty-five pages, was simply entitled "A Masque presented at Ludlow Castle, 1634, on Michaelmas night, before the Right Honourable John Earl of Bridgewater, Viscount Brackley, Lord President of Wales, and one of his Majesties most honourable Privie Counsell, etc. London. Printed for Humphrey Robinson, at the signe of

the Three Pidgeons, in Paul's Churchyard, 1637." The names of the principal actors appear at the end of this edition. The songs were set to music by Mr. Henry Lawes, gentleman of the King's chapel, and "one of his Majesty's private musick," who taught music in Lord Bridgewater's family, and was acquainted with the best poets, and the most respectable and popular of the nobility of his time. Henry Lawes was the son of Thomas Lawes, a vicar-choral of Salisbury Cathedral.

The Lady Alice, who excelled in singing, was a pupil of Lawes; and to her was allotted the song of Echo. Lawes performed the part of the attendant spirit, and undertook the general management of the masque. It is not known who were the original representatives of the parts of Comus and Sabrina. Lawes dedicates the first edition to the Earl of Bridgewater, on the title-page of which Milton's name does not appear. The masque did not bear his name until 1645, and this dedication was omitted in the edition printed under the poet's own inspection in 1673, but as it has been retained in modern editions, it is needless to do more than allude to it. Between the year 1637 and 1697 as many as twenty-seven editions have been enumerated, and it is presumed that others existed; and *Comus*, as well as Milton's other poetical works, has several times been translated into Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and various other languages.

Entertainments of this kind having been discouraged, *Comus* was the delight of comparatively few until 1738, when it was produced, with judicious alterations, at Drury Lane Theatre, divided into three acts, and adapted to the stage by Dr. Dalton, Prebendary of Worcester, Lawes' music being rejected, and new accompaniments composed for the occasion by Dr. Arne, in which form it was received many nights with most enthusiastic applause. It was subsequently (1773) reduced into two acts by George Colman, and performed at Covent Garden, since which period it has been repeatedly presented on the stage, and was revived as recently as two years ago at Drury Lane. It is worthy of note that in 1750 it was acted and published for the benefit of Milton's grand-daughter, who kept a chandler's shop, an occasional prologue being written by Dr. Johnson, and spoken by Garrick.

In addition to the particulars here given, it may be stated

that it is surmised that Milton produced *Comus* under his father's roof, at Horton, near Colnbrook, in Buckinghamshire, where the poet went to reside after leaving Cambridge, and where his father had retired from practice on a competent fortune, holding his house under the Earls of Bridgewater, which may possibly have been young Milton's introduction to that noble family, certainly before he had become a decided republican. Buckinghamshire, rather than Shropshire, may therefore have been his residence when he wrote *Comus*, as was the case with the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*, and there is no evidence to prove that Milton was even present at Ludlow Castle during the representation of his work, though it has been thought that the general theme of Milton's poem was chosen to rebuke the excesses of the inhabitants of that town, which, as far as my own experience goes, do not exist at the present time, except, perhaps, an excess of hospitality.

Comus groups itself, in point of time, with four of Milton's other compositions, namely the *Sonnet to the Nightingale*, the *Allegro* and *Penseroso*, and the *Arcades*, which latter is also in the character of a masque, but fragmentary, and constituting only part of an entertainment. It is to be inferred that *Comus* was the last of the group. A masque by Shirley was given by the members of the four Inns of Court, at the Banqueting House of Whitehall, in the presence of their Majesties, in February, 1634, the same year in which Milton's work was produced, the brilliant success of which caused this species of entertainment to come into fashion in courtly circles. In a masque by Carew, also before the production of *Comus*, it is interesting to note that the juvenile parts were allotted to Viscount Brackley and Mr. Thomas Egerton, and the decorations were by Inigo Jones. It is not known whether Milton had witnessed the masks that created a sensation in the early part of the year in which his own was produced; although, as he occasionally made journeys to London to improve his study of music, and his friend, Henry Lawes was engaged to furnish the music both to Shirley and Carew's masques, which according to Whitelock "excelled any music that before that time had been held in England," it is considered probable that Milton may have, at any rate, attended some rehearsals of the Inns of Court entertainment.

To those who would make themselves acquainted with all known particulars of Milton and his works, I would recommend a careful perusal of Mr. David Masson's life of the poet. I may also refer to Mr. Thomas Wright's very interesting and charming "Ludlow Sketch," one chapter of which is devoted to a description of the scene of *Comus*; and those who may choose to speculate upon events in connection with this subject will be entertained, if not edified, by glancing over the pages of a shadowy romanesque lately published, which gives a purely ideal correspondence between Milton, Lawes, and some members of the Bridgewater family, descriptive of that which may have some method in the wildness of the notion, but which assuredly leaves a very wide margin at the discretion of the reader.

The object of this paper has been merely to gather and condense from various sources some already well known facts in reference to the production of *Comus*. Their recapitulation, I trust, will not be so devoid of interest as to have wearied my readers, many of whom, I do not doubt, have visited

"The perplexed paths of this drear wood,
The nodding horror of whose shady brows
Threats the forlorn and wandering passenger";

in which spot, mindful of Lady Alice, they may, perchance, have lost their

... "unacquainted feet
In the blind mazes of this tangled wood";

and where the lady adds—

"My brothers, when they saw me wearied out
With this long way, resolving here to lodge
Under the spreading favour of these pines,
Stept, as they said, to the next thicket side
To bring me berries, or such cooling fruit
As the kind, hospitable woods provide.
They left me then, when the gray-hooded even,
Like a sad votarist in palmer's weeds,
Rose from the hindmost wheels of Phœbus' wain;
But where they are, and why they came not back,
Is now the labour of my thoughts."

We would there picture to ourselves "the tufted grove" over which "a sable cloud turned forth her silvery lining on the night," and we would note "the prosperous growth of this tall wood." We would point to that which may or

R. i. a. l.

Plan of the foundations
of the
PRIORY OF AUSTIN FRIARS.
LUDLOW

Drawn from a plan existing in the MSS. of the Priory of Austin Friars, Ludlow.



Scale of Feet



Note: The dotted lines represent the present state of the ruins. The solid lines show the original plan.



may not have been the identical "grassy turf," on which the lady was "left weary"; we could explore

"Each lane and every alley green,
Dingle or bushy dell of this wild wood,
And every bosky bourn from side to side";

and "in this close dungeon of innumerable boughs" we might "lean 'gainst the rugged bark of some broad elm," and so conjure up the stately palace, where—

"Immur'd in cypress shades a sorcerer dwells,
Of Bacchus and of Circe born, great Comus."

ON THE REMAINS OF THE AUSTIN FRIARY AT LUDLOW.

BY GEORGE COCKING, ESQ.

MANY members of this Association have probably read the interesting communication made to the Society of Antiquaries by the late lamented Mr. Beriah Botfield, relative to the remains of the Austin Friars Priory at Ludlow. That gentleman took a very great interest in its discovery, and made most diligent search after every historical record relating to it, and the paper so ably compiled and illustrated by him was printed by the Society in 1863; as its circulation, however, is to a certain degree limited, a brief account of the Priory may be, perhaps, acceptable to the members of this Association.

A piece of meadow land was purchased in 1861 by the Corporation of Ludlow for the purpose of forming a cattle-market, which required a good deal of levelling involving a considerable removal of soil; in doing this the workmen laid bare several portions of masonry, and it soon became apparent that they were uncovering the foundations of a building of some extent. This naturally excited the curiosity of those who visited the spot; and Mr. Curley, the engineer of this and other local works, became greatly interested in the discovery. It was soon surmised that we had come upon the site of an old monastic building, whose existence in this spot had been forgotten, although its proximity was attested



by the name of *The Friars* being attached to a pathway closely adjoining the locality, as well as to gardens extending further to the west. I used the influence which my then official capacity of chief magistrate procured for me, and addressed myself to our borough members, and also appealed to the public for means wherewith to make further research. The responses which I received, aided by the liberal conduct of the contractors, Messrs. Brassey and Field, sufficed under the able directorship of Mr. Curley to lay bare the foundations of a building of about two acres in extent, which, with the assistance of Mr. Herbert Evans, of this town, has been carefully laid down to scale on the plan exhibited.

In the soil around, and also in the boundary walls, a large number of fragments were found, some of considerable size, consisting of window sills, door jambs, mullions, and tracery of windows. With these examples to guide him, Mr. Evans has also drawn an elevation, which, though necessarily imaginative in many of its details, has truth for its basis, chimney stacks, doorways, and passages being depicted in their true situation, and the general character of the building corresponding perfectly with the discovered portions.

Thus we have evidence of one or more windows (probably from the chapel) with the ball-flower ornament, several fine portions of which were disinterred and with many other examples have been photographed in groups.

As described by Mr. Curley, the place represents a block of buildings, surrounding a quadrangle, the principal hall facing the south. The buildings on the east side project beyond the line of the hall, forming a wing, and terminating with deep angular buttresses; in this wing was found a large group of rooms, with kitchen, cellars, and an oven. When this last was discovered the stone front was found lying on the ground below. I was present when this was lifted, and beneath we found a quantity of ashes, looking as fresh as though recently raked out. Was this the result of the forcible removal of the iron door and frame by some lawless hand?—and does it not point out the probability that on the retirement of the brethren a scene of plunder took place, and everything that was possible carried off?

On the west side were traced the walls of various long and narrow rooms; there is a projecting wing on this side corresponding with that on the east; all the door jambs,

plinths, and hook stones in this part were found *in situ* as well as fire places, and a few window sills.

The remains of the chapel on the north side of the quadrangle have given rise to much speculation ; the central octagonal building is supposed by some to have served the purpose of a chapter-house, separating the nave from the choir. The excavations here, however, yielded a less satisfactory result than in other places.

The chapel appears to have been entered from a porch, within which was found the base of a small detached column, which in all probability supported the stoup for holy water. It was conjectured that this also had been found, but it is more probable that the article discovered near the spot, and which is still preserved, is a stone mortar used for culinary or medicinal purposes.

The bases of but two columns were found here, consisting of three semicircles on the one side and a semi-octagonal pier on the other. From their situation, it may be inferred that they, with others, separated the nave from a single aisle. At the extreme east end were found the foundations six feet thick of a tower, and perhaps a steeple, of some elevation, since in the inventory of valuables resigned when the brethren vacated, mention is made of "two fayer bells and a lytyll bell in the stepull."

Some interest also attaches to the site of the Refectory ; since in the room forming the projecting western wing was found unmistakeably the base of a stone pulpit with two or three of the steps ; the spot is marked on the plan.

Various tiles were found, mostly near the southern front, many of them of very quaint design. Respecting these I quote from Mr. Botfield's account,—he states "that they vary considerably in date as well as in style of decoration. The earlier ones belong apparently to the fourteenth century ; one of the most curious among them represents the crucifixion, a subject peculiarly inappropriate to the pavement of any building, and which does not, so far as I am aware, occur elsewhere ; its workmanship is very rude. Another remarkable device, of which I think five or six specimens were found, consists in the words, '*He that hath not cannot.*' This may be a personal motto, or it may be a sentiment very appropriately placed in a Friary, suggesting to its inmates the uselessness of trying to levy contributions on those who

had not wherewithal to satisfy their importunities." Several of the tiles represent animals : one has a rabbit carrying or eating a branch (of which I think that I have read a legend), another some bird—Mr. Botfield says a cock. One detail the engraver who has illustrated that gentleman's paper has failed to notice and delineate. I have seen several examples of this device, and the bird bears unmistakeably a horse-shoe in its beak. "Others" (I again quote Mr. Botfield) "have a lion passant within a circle, a very common device on tiles, which occurs at Romsey and elsewhere, a fish within a pointed oval, and a stag trippant. Among the simpler devices may be noticed a plain fleur-de-lis. The armorial tiles are three in number : one has a fesse between six crosses crosslet—the arms of Beauchamp ; another exhibits a sword and two cross keys, not in a shield ; the third, which is of later date, a chevron between three crosses pattée. To the same date as the last may be referred a tile with the monogram I.B.C. enclosed in a circle, and with portions of quatrefoils in the angles ; this tile occurs in the fine pavement laid down in the choir of Gloucester Cathedral by Thomas Sebroke, Abbot of Gloucester from 1450 to 1457, and which there is every reason to believe were made at Malvern. The earlier tiles have some resemblance in their decoration to those found in a kiln at Droitwich." Several coins, keys, hinges, and other specimens of metal work were found, not claiming any especial attention excepting a gold ring, having a green stone plainly and very roughly inlaid in the solid gold.

But few human bones were turned up; two skeletons were found on the east side of the chapel, these were carefully covered up. The handles were the only parts remaining of the coffins.

But little has been ascertained respecting the early history of this Priory. Its actual founder is unknown, or at least doubtful ; but there exist records quoted by Mr. Botfield which allude incidentally to it in the years 1282 and 1284.

Its dissolution, with other religious houses, took place in the reign of Henry VIII, about the year 1538. It would appear that the community was then reduced to a very small number, the act of resignation bearing the signature only of the prior and three of the brethren. The inventory of the furniture and other effects surrendered to the bailiff of Ludlow on the 23rd August, 1538, affords evidence that

they were not in very affluent circumstances. I will not risk wearying the reader by recapitulating the whole, as it is given at length by Mr. Wright in his *History of Ludlow*, and copied by Mr. Botfield; a few of the items, however, may interest and amuse us, for instance: "a syngyll vestment of blacke worstede," "a syngyll vestment of blewe damaske," "ij olde copys," "a cope of silk with starres," "a fayer cofer," "ij old auter clothes," "vj auter clothes steyned, olde," "a lyttyll tabull, ij trustelles & a forme," "ij olde cupboardes," "a pan and a ketell," "a lytyll brasse pot," "& a fair great cupboarde."

All that is known with any certainty of the state of the Priory after its dissolution is recorded by Mr. Botfield, whose researches, aided by previous investigations of Mr. Thomas Wright, enabled him to give extracts from various state papers and deeds of a more recent date. From these it appears that several leases of the ground and remains were granted at successive periods, from the year 1546 down to modern times, closing with its sale by Mr. Brettell Vaughan to the Corporation of Ludlow in 1861.

But he adds "that tradition, the handmaid of history, has happily furnished some account of the last state of this ancient foundation. A lady, now advanced in years, but still resident at Ludlow, was amused by the interest created by digging out the old foundations, while, as she said, no one took much notice of the buildings when they were above ground. When she was quite young, and used to go to school from Letwyche, a large range of stone buildings, which looked like a large house, stood a little below the road in an open space full of stones and ruins. Dividing this space from the road was a massive wall with an archway in it and gates, through which, and between some of the ruins, there was a kind of road down to the ruined building. The little stream called Whitehall Brook, rising from St. Julian's Well on Gravel Hill, flowed through the fish-ponds below the Priory enclosure into the river Teme."

These fish-ponds still remain in the orchard below the south sustaining wall of the cattle-market, and are in so good a state of preservation that by a trifling expenditure they might be filled, as in olden times, and from the same spring; the stream has been somewhat diverted for the needful requirements of the market, but the waste empties itself near the old outlet.

This mention of Whitehall leads one to remark that part of a brick floor was found close to the present palisading, but we had not means for any further exploring. The spot probably marks the situation of the archway, and it continued to be called Whitehall, after the building had disappeared; I have found mention of it in the minutes of the Turnpike commissioners' meetings. The old lady mentioned by Mr. Botfield also relates how, "when a part of the ruined buildings was used as a kennel for Captain Waring's hounds, he and a gay party of gentlemen and ladies, all dressed in scarlet, rode out of the archway on days when the meet was fixed at Ludlow. But, she added, at night there was quite another scene. The old Priory seemed then to be occupied by its former inhabitants—singing and other noises were heard as though many people lived there; and on fine nights the prior and brethren, all habited in white, might be seen walking along the road still called the Friar's Lane, in a stately manner, to the intense alarm of any young folks who might be rambling that way too late in the evening,"—so, at least, it was reported.

In conclusion, I would invite those who may have leisure and inclination, to view the remains which are built up in a vacant corner of the market.

They consist of portions of columns, bases, and capitals, plinths, window sills, parapet, and various mouldings and tracery; from which it may be inferred that some portions of the building were erected as early as 1260, others so late as 1340.

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ON THE CHURCH OF ST. LAWRENCE, LUDLOW.

BY R. KYRKE PENSON, ESQ., F.S.A.

WHEN a chronological account of any particular building is attempted to be given, the frequent allusion to dates and technical terms is somewhat tedious. This will be avoided as much as possible on the present occasion, and in describing our parish church the familiar terms of Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular, will be used in lieu of reference to particular or assumed dates. In attributing certain works to these several conventional periods, it must not be assumed that they were of simultaneous execution in those periods, as a certain transitional character pervades most of the details of the two earlier styles; but for the sake of simplicity it will be convenient to make use of the terms Early English, Decorated, and Perpendicular.

It is not necessary to refer to the preexisting Anglo-Norman church, as the only remnants of it visible are a stone marking the supposed level of that church, at the west end, and some details which have been built up in one of the walls. The foundations of it, however, are stated to have been clearly defined on removing the pavement at the time of the restoration. For present purposes it will be sufficient to rely upon the judgment and opinion of Mr. Wright as to the date of the existing building. That learned antiquarian, whose researches enable him to give an authoritative opinion, states in a recent publication, that an ancient record, the accuracy of which he has no reason to doubt, mentions the fact that in 1199 the then existing Norman church was found to be too small for the necessities of the town, and that it was taken down and enlarged; and he believes that the Early English church, exclusive of the side chapels, coincided in extent with the present building.

Taking this fact as a basis, it will be a matter of some interest to endeavour to make out the various changes which have taken place at different periods up to the time when the church assumed its present character. The evidences of these changes are to be sought for principally by an examination of the external walls; the structural arrangements of

the interior, with one or two exceptions, being matters of conjecture. In accepting Mr. Wright's views as to the extent of the Early English church, a question may, perhaps, be raised as to the existence of transepts at that date; and there is almost conclusive evidence to lead to the belief that the eastern bay of the chancel is an extension of the original plan during the Perpendicular period. The Early English church may, therefore, be supposed to have occupied the present area without the transepts and the eastern bay of the chancel; and the following facts tend to substantiate this view,—the base moulding and ground-table, and the strings of this building, may be traced throughout, together with portions of rubble masonry and many characteristic details: for instance, in the room over the porch are three original corbels of the eaves course, in perfect preservation, and these indicate the height of the original walls. Then there are the mouldings of the south doorway, and the internal jambs of the present three-light windows, with a portion of the external jamb, shewing the original width of the opening of these windows. In the south chapel there are also Early English details; and in the north chapel, where the door has been cut through, the Early English string and basements have been intermixed. In the north aisle the internal mouldings of the doorway still exist. The east wall of the chancel contains the Early English jambs of the original window, and below it is the chamber constructed in the thickness of the south and east walls, the use of which has given rise to several theories. The external opening of this chamber is of Early English date, and the interior has been constructed with fragments of mouldings and incised slabs of a date anterior to that of the present chancel. It appears, therefore, that Mr. Wright's view is borne out, if the conclusions to be deduced from the foregoing examination are correct. The general external appearance of the Early English church can, of course, only be surmised.

The subsequent changes which were made are easily distinguishable. Probably the south porch was the first work undertaken, as its character is transitional, and as it encloses a portion of the Early English eaves-course before alluded to. The north aisle was rebuilt, the Early English work having been taken down to a level below the original string-course, and the height to which the decorated aisle was car-

ried is marked by a weathering inserted in the west wall of the north transept. At first sight it may seem likely that transepts existed in the Early English period; but there are reasons for a contrary opinion, and these favour the idea that the transepts were first built in the Decorated period; and the south transept may have been the earlier one, judging from the character of the tracery. The north transept has a base mould imitation of the Early English one; but there is no noble masonry of that date above it, as in the north aisle. The side walls of this transept were raised a little above the eaves of the adjoining north aisle and north chapel, and the original pitch of its gable is easily discernible. Returning to the north aisle, the decorated cornice with ball-flower, and the sill of the western window of that aisle, also enriched with ball-flower, mark the period of its construction. The rake of the gable of this aisle is distinctly marked. Passing on to the south transept, the character of its windows and stringcourse indicate its date as that of the Decorated period. The rake of the roof of this transept is perfectly distinguishable. The south chapel is now reached, at the east end of which is a five-light decorated window with net-tracery, containing the remains of fine early stained glass. These are the principal features of the Decorated period which are to be found on an examination of the exterior, and internally there are the jambs of the decorated arches which existed at this period at the crossing. There seems to be little doubt that a central tower formed part of the early church; but all traces of this are lost, unless the lower part of the north and south-east piers, now enclosed by the screen, may be attributed to this date.

The church was then remodelled in the Perpendicular period. The first step in this process was, possibly, the construction of the arcades in the nave. The piers of the central tower were built after the arcades, the bases of the eastern columns being enclosed in the piers, which clip, as it were, the columns of the arcade. The decorated arches at the crossing were partially taken down, and the flying buttresses constructed to support the great piers, and to carry the clerestory walls. The sunk chamfer, a distinguishing feature of Decorated date, was adopted, and continued in the arch in question; and there is the apparent anomaly of Decorated work being executed subsequently to that of the succeeding

style. The high-pitched roofs of the nave, aisles, transepts, and chapels were removed, and the walls raised, and roofs of flat pitch placed above the newly constructed clerestories. The alterations in the chapels probably followed, and the Early English windows of the south aisle were widened and fitted with late tracery. The chancel was then remodelled and lengthened, and this is probably the latest work that was done.

In the north aisle we are enabled to see the alterations made at the different periods. There are the Early English plinth and masonry up to a certain height, then the Decorated stringcourse below the windows, the series of two-light Decorated windows, and the lower part of the western window, together with the masonry of the walls up to the height where the ball-flower cornice was fixed, but which has since been reset on the wall raised in the Perpendicular period, when the high-pitched roof was removed, and the present flat, lean-to roof substituted. The late additions to the transepts are also very apparent in the varying character of the masonry and material, and there is no difficulty in picturing to ourselves the effect of the church in the Decorated period, with its high-pitched roofs and pointed gables, which have been lowered to adapt them to the style prevailing subsequently. Some might, perhaps, desire that the alterations of the Perpendicular style had not been made; but with every predilection for the earlier architecture, it must, nevertheless, be admitted that the town of Ludlow possesses one of the most majestic parish churches in the kingdom.

I have only to add that the dimensions of the church, from actual measurement, are,—chancel, 80 feet by 22 feet 6 inches; north and south chancel aisles, 36 ft. by 24 ft.; north transept, 51 ft. by 21 ft.; south transept, 43 ft. by 19 ft.; nave, 88 ft. by 27 ft.; north and south aisles, 91 ft. by 22 ft.; length from east to west, 203 ft.; width across transepts, 128 ft.; width across aisles and nave, 78 ft.

Proceedings of the Association.

8TH JANUARY, 1868.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THANKS were returned for the following presents :

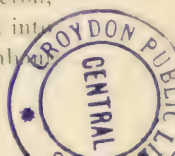
To the Society. Somersetshire Archaeological Society for Proceedings, 1865-66. 8vo. 1867.

To the Author, M. Charles Roessler, for Tableau Archéologique de l'Arrondissement du Havre. 8vo. Havre, 1867.

Mr. W. H. Baily exhibited two Saxon knives in unusually fine preservation ; also a glass costrel flattened on one side, so as to permit of its lying easily against the body.

Mr. John Moore, of West Coker, forwarded the following account of the discovery of human remains at Ham Hill, Somersetshire :

"In September, 1867, a skeleton was found on Ham Hill. On the declivity of the hill, below the fortified part, there is a road or track-way westward, leading from it to the village of Norton-sub-Hamdon ; and the discovery was made in consequence of the skull being exposed to view through the vicissitudes of weather and the treading of sheep. The road is a few yards deep ; and if a perpendicular rod was erected where carts pass, the skull was laid bare about four or five yards in, there being no hedge or other fencing between. The body was due west and east, on the back, the head towards the west. The skull had been taken away before our examination. The body was placed carefully *in situ*, the forearms and hands crossed over the abdomen. There never had been a coffin of any kind, nor was anything metallic, or of any other description, around or under the bones. The skeleton was much flattened, and inclined to the right. This was probably occasioned by its resting on the native rock on the left, the sandy soil yielding to pressure on the right. The bones on the left were firm, those on the right more gone to decay. A sketch was taken of the skeleton, which was carefully exposed to view. Taking the sloping ground into account, the head was about two feet under the surface, the feet about



a yard. As the interment was so close to the road (which, I should say, was Roman or British), one can hardly imagine that the deceased was murdered; for a murderer would choose a more secluded spot, and not take such pains in placing the body. But I leave this, and send the skull and some other bones for you to speculate on, and of which the following is a list, with their measurements:

"Skull.—Longitudinal diameter, 7 inches; parietal diameter, $5\frac{4}{12}$ ins.; frontal diameter, $4\frac{6}{12}$ ins.; vertical diameter, $5\frac{9}{12}$ ins.; distance from sutura transversalis to the coronalis, $4\frac{10}{12}$ ins.; ditto from sutura coronalis to the lambdoidalis, 5 ins.; ditto from sutura lambdoidalis to the foramen magnum, $4\frac{8}{12}$ ins.; horizontal periphery, $20\frac{3}{12}$ ins.

"Clavicle (left), $5\frac{3}{12}$ ins.; os humeri (left), $12\frac{6}{12}$ ins.; os femoris (left), $17\frac{3}{12}$ ins.; tibia (right), $14\frac{3}{12}$ ins.; fibula (right), proximal end broken off, $13\frac{3}{12}$ ins.

"I am rather inclined to think this is the skeleton of a woman, but the crushed state of the pelvis prevented measurement. If that of a man, a delicate one. The slender bones do not bespeak much hardy labour. The teeth are deficient in number, and there are no *dentes sapientie*. The front teeth seem to have been subjected to violence at, or immediately preceding, death. The left os humeri must have been broken in early life, and the bone twisted in its union. The fingers and metacarpal bones having fallen from the arms, were found among the soil beneath. Whether the spinal column was curved before death, or when the body inclined to the right, having sunk in the sand, I leave to others to decide; and also the questions, if this skeleton be that of man or woman, British or Roman, or of still more recent date. The absence of everything that could reveal the effects of time, the body being placed in the ground so near to the road, and its entirety when deposited, are points to be considered."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming remarked that no stress must be placed on the position of the skeleton lately found, for though its head was to the west, and its feet to the east, it is not consequently a Christian burial, for the same rule was observed in many of the cists of the stone period laid open on the farm of Stonelaws, East Lothian;¹ and in a barrow explored in 1849, at Cawthorn Camps, N.R., York, one body had its head laid to the east, the other to the west.²

Mr. Cuming went on to say that, "in spite of the skeleton being unaccompanied by any trace of handicraft, the form of the skull is all sufficient to prove that the person was a Kelt; and there is no reason to doubt that the interment was of the same age as the others brought to light at Ham Hill, and described in this *Journal*, xix, 126. The skull, though of moderate size, is well proportioned, and in configuration

¹ Wilson's *Prehistoric Annals of Scotland*, p. 168.

² Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings*, p. 206.

holds a middle place between the true kumbe-kephalic and brachy-kephalic types, and therefore agreeing perfectly with the acknowledged form of the Keltic head. The teeth (of which six remain in the upper, and seven in the lower jaw) are in good preservation, with their crowns somewhat worn, shewing that their owner had made active use of them for years; and, indeed, the height of the body, which when alive could have been little short of five feet five inches, is another proof that the individual was by no means a child. The delicate make of the round bones is certainly suggestive of a female frame; and we may possibly have before us the remains of the fair bride of some chieftain, who fell with her lord amid the din of battle; for the discoveries made at Ham Hill attest that, about the close of the bronze period, there was here a considerable slaughter of Keltic warriors."

Beside the remains above described, Mr. Moore transmitted the frontal bones of two skulls exhumed at Ham Hill. They differ much in size, the smallest measuring $4\frac{5}{12}$ ins. diameter, and $5\frac{1}{12}$ ins. from the sutura transversalis to the coronalis. The sagittalis is all but obliterated, and a slight oval scar is visible on the left temple. The larger skull must have belonged to a young giant. Frontal diameter, 5 ins.; from sutura transversalis to coronalis, $5\frac{5}{12}$ ins. The youth of the person is indicated by the distinctly marked sagittal suture, and the thinness of the bone.

Mr. Edmonds exhibited a plaque of exceedingly thin lead, about $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. \times $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins., bearing the impress of an ovate seal, $1\frac{3}{4}$ in. \times $1\frac{1}{2}$ in., in the field of which is a large, gross-looking profile bust, to the right, of a monk with shorn crown. On the margin is this legend, SIG. PREPOS. ET. COMVNI. BYRGI. DE. LAMUSIO (?). [Lamousie, dist. of Perigord, France.]

The Chairman observed that the seal appeared to be late sixteenth century work. Why it should be impressed on lead was yet to be explained. He suggested that it might have been the fashion to stamp thin lead placed over wax, as we now do paper.

Mr. Cecil Brent, F.S.A., called attention to some recent forgeries, in lead, of pilgrims' signs, etc., and exhibited a few well-executed examples, viz., a rather large mitred head of a bishop; a design evidently derived from "the crown and cushion," but intended to pass for a tasseled corporal with a new type of mitre; a basket with four young pelicans in it, but having no trace of the parent bird; a sword, sheath, and buckler, conjoined; two good sized talbots sejeant, with bossed neck-collars; and a long-linked chain cut out of thin lead.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming took the opportunity of warning collectors against a class of pseudo-antiques which are now being wrought with considerable skill in fine brass. Square bells with pointed, perforated handles and long cylindrical clappers, Norman pryck-spurs, and long-

necked, rowelled spurs of the time of Henry VI, seem to be the most favourite forms with the forgers.

The Rev. W. S. Simpson, F.S.A., exhibited a fine example of a garter-ring, the property of Mr. W. Gill of Tavistock, near which town it was lately discovered. It is of bronze, with the following motto graven on the outer surface of the hoop, MATER . DEI . MEMA. This curious trinket bears a close resemblance to one, also of bronze, found at Hetherset in Norfolk, and figured in this *Journal* (xiii, 314), and which gives the inscription more at length : thus, MATER . DEI . MEMANTO. Both these finger-rings appear to be of late fourteenth century workmanship.

Various remarks upon the objects exhibited were made by Mr. Baily, Mr. Grover, Mr. E. Levien, Mr. G. R. Wright, and Mr. Blashill.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills, Treasurer, laid before the meeting some information respecting a "find" of bronze weapons, consisting of spear-heads and broad arrows, near Leintwardine, Hereford, a description of which was communicated at the late Ludlow Congress in a letter from Col. Colvin to the Local Hon. Sec., the Rev. W. C. Sparrow, and from Thos. Jackman, Esq., to the same gentleman. Some of the articles referred to were exhibited, on August 1st, to the members at Wigmore; and Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., then expressed his opinion that the hoard was the property of some travelling dealer in weapons in the Roman period, lost, perhaps, by some accident in the lake which appears to have extended over the land in that part. Mr. Jackman's communication was accompanied by outline sketches of two of the spear-heads, one of them five inches and a half long in the blade, and two inches and a quarter wide, with a socket three inches long, to receive the staff of the spear; the other a less perfect weapon, measuring five inches long from the point of the blade, and is of a broad leaf-shape, three inches wide at the broadest part. Bones of oxen and pigs and horses' teeth had also been found in the same locality. Mr. Jackman mentioned the fact that he had in his possession a stone hammer found at Setton a few years since, while draining a bog.

The Chairman said that broad arrows of bronze were most extraordinary things in this country, or in any country. Broad arrows were, as far as he knew, always made of iron; and he had never read or heard of any of bronze. The stone hammer belonged to the second part of the stone period.

Mr. Baily observed that the writer of the letter might have called broad spear-heads "broad arrows." The bronze spear-heads mentioned were certainly very curious.

The Chairman remarked that the large horse's tooth could not be very ancient, as the large horse was not imported into England till the reign of Henry III. The locality was very interesting, but it was clear that as yet but little intelligence concerning it had come before the Association.

Mr. Blashill exhibited, on the part of Mr. J. T. Irvine, some rubbings from a sepulchral slab discovered during the restorations at Middleton Abbas, Dorset, probably of the twelfth century.

JANUARY 22, 1868.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

R. J. Ward, Esq., 11, Queen-street, Westminster

William Taylor, Esq., National Debt Office.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire for Transactions for 1866-7. Vol. vii, New Series. 8vo., 1867.

To the University of Christiania for a Notice, by C. R. Unger, of a MS. entitled "Morkinskinna." 8vo., 1867. And for "Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs-og Dagböger," by P. A. Munch. Christiania. 8vo., 1867.

To the Cambrian Archaeological Society for *Archæologia Cambrensis*. No. 53. Third Series. 8vo., 1868.

Mr. H. Kettel exhibited an implement, apparently of calcined flint, which had been picked up by Mr. John Evershed, of Billinghamurst, in one of his ploughed fields. The place where it was found lies in the Weald of Sussex, and just on the border of the two formations known respectively as the Weald clay and the Hastings sand.

The Chairman observed that it was not made of flint, but of horn-stone, and that the colour of that material imparted to it its calcined appearance. It was an extremely fine specimen, and belonged to the archaic period of the stone age, before man had finished such implements by polishing them.

Mr. Josiah Cato exhibited a stone club of clay-slate, found near the town of St. Isabel in South America, in the centre of the mining district, upon which he read the following remarks :

"I beg to lay before the meeting an ancient club formed of clay-slate, weighing two pounds and a half, and measuring thirteen inches and three-eighths in length by two inches and a half in its widest, and an inch and a quarter in its thickest part. This very rare object was found near the town of Sta. Isabel, in the Chapada Diamantina, the diamond-bearing hill-country in the province of Bahia, Brazil, a wealthy district, to which a steam tramway is now in course of construction. The club was brought to England, and given to me, in October last : and is interesting, not only for its uncommon form, but also because the stone of which it is made appears to be foreign to the neighbour-

hood of this discovery ; for in 1859-60 I spent some time in the diamond district, and both while there, and in travelling from and back to the coast, I paid considerable attention to observing and collecting specimens of the rocks and minerals of the country ; but I do not remember to have seen, neither do my cabinets contain, an example of clay-slate, though other metamorphic rocks (gneiss, etc.), forming, as they do, so large a proportion of the empire, are of course abundantly represented. When exhibiting my club, I referred to an English example made known to me by Mr. H. Syer Cuming, of which a description by that gentleman will be found in our *Journal* (vol. xv, p. 231)."

The Chairman said that, besides the stone club referred to as having been found in England, another had come to light in Ireland. He had had the pleasure of identifying them both.

Mr. E. Roberts said that while upon this subject he might take the opportunity of calling attention to the almost perfect identity of flint implements from all parts of the world. He had been struck by this identity while examining the celts in the Paris Exhibition. He thought that we should seek for some better reason for this similarity than was usually given for it. It appeared to him that there must have been a much greater amount of communication throughout the world in those ancient days than we had been in the habit of believing in.

Mr. Cato said he had seen two specimens like that which he now exhibited. The Negroes in the employment of the gentleman to whom he was indebted for this, had more recently turned up one of the finest basaltic celts he had ever seen, eleven inches in length ; and on the same gentleman's property, in the North of Ireland, one had been found five inches and a-half long, also of basalt, which might have been copied from the other by a pentagraph.

The Chairman remarked that the stone axes of China and of New Caledonia were precisely similar.

Mr. T. Sherratt exhibited a gold signet ring, said to have been found in one of the many ancient graves existing in the township of Pompey, Onondago County, State of New York ; and mentioned that rings of a similar kind are often met with in this locality, associated occasionally with other articles. The device on the example produced seems to be either a rudely designed cork with a long pendant leaf before it, or it may be two fish, one in the upper and one in the lower part, reverse ways, with either a net or a seed pot between them.

The Rev. W. Purton sent for exhibition a small screw box of brass, with slightly domed cover, about one inch and three-quarters diameter, exhumed in Stottesdon Churchyard, Salop, and containing a shilling of Charles I, with the M.M. of a tun, showing it to be of this king's sixth or seventh coinage (1636 or 38). The box is a remarkably neat piece of metal turnery, and was probably intended to hold card-markers.

Lord Boston, V.P., transmitted a profile bust in relief of Joseph II, Emperor of Germany (1765-90). It is one of Tassie's casts in plaster, most delicately and carefully painted in body colours by a well-skilled hand, but the name of the artist is unknown. In its way this portrait is probably unique.

Two ancient spurs, found in London, were also exhibited by the Chairman, one was a prick spur, and one a rowel spur.

Mr. Baily handed round a forgery which had come into his hands that day; this was a spur in bronze, which the Chairman said was one of the most dangerous types he had seen, but he had no hesitation in pronouncing it a forgery; it was of unusual thickness, and such as was not known to have been made in bronze. Mr. Baily remarked that the metal was, in fact, pure brass.

Mr. George R. Wright, F.S.A., read the following "Notes on a marble sculptured head, found at, and brought from, Alexandria":—

"I regret that in the interval which has elapsed since I first had the honour to submit to our Association this interesting relic of antiquity now before us, I have not been able to arrive at any fresh or more accurate information as to the exact manner and place of its discovery beyond the mere fact that it was dug up in a garden at Alexandria. The remaining portion of the statue was also found on the spot, but not exhumed, owing to the extreme difficulty of such a task, and I may also add, from a possible indifference as to the nature of the find; for in eastern places where so much of ancient art lies buried, or is partially seen rising only a few feet above the ground, such discoveries are not regarded with the interest with which we view them when we light upon stone or marble remains in our garden or grounds, indicative of that Roman occupation of our country which helped to make it what it now is, and has assisted the antiquary so materially in his investigations regarding the manners, customs, and handicraft of that people.

"Of course, the especial interest attaching to a work of the character now before us, is to attempt to unravel its history, to name the hero or god it was intended to represent, and the artist who executed it; and it will be chiefly with a view to discover something of these things, that in this brief paper I have put together a few suggestions of my own as well as those of several other members of our body who have favoured me with their opinions.

"When I first received the marble head and heard of the place from which it was brought, I had a vague idea that it might be intended to represent Alexander of Macedonia, as we well know he founded the famous city of Alexandria, B.C. 331; and I thought it not improbable from the Grecian style of art, which I maintain the head before us possesses, that it might prove to be a portrait of that illustrious man. However, I am content to confess that my idea was a wrong one; and



I must at once admit that our kind friend, Mr. Syer Cuming, who is ever so active in the elucidation of truth, in anything connected with the study of antiquities, immediately detected a likeness to another great man, although by no means so great a one as the Macedonian king, whose portrait I have little doubt but that it will now prove to be, and that is the Emperor Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, who reigned A.D. 161-180.

“Mr. Cuming has kindly taken the trouble to compare this bust with that in the Mattei collection, now in the British Museum, and I have been most fortunate in verifying the features by a beautiful photograph in a noble work lately given to me, entitled *A History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene, made during an Expedition to the Cyrenaica in 1860-61, by order of Her Majesty's Government*, by Captain R. Murdoch Smith, R.E., and Commander E. A. Porcher, R.N., and published by Day and Son in 1864, which photograph I will now submit to the meeting in the work itself, and then our members can judge for themselves, whether the portrait and bust are intended for the same person, and if so, whether there can be any further doubt that that person is Marcus Aurelius Antoninus?

“For myself, I can have little doubt of the identification of the head as representing the philosophic Emperor, who was no less distinguished as a soldier than as a literary man, and the events of whose reign are so well-known that I need not recapitulate them here.”

Mr. Adams said that, since he had first seen this head at one of the meetings of the Association, he had had it in his studio, where he had examined it very closely, and he had come to a conclusion respecting it. He thought it would be difficult to discover whom it represented. It seemed to him totally different from the head with which Mr. G. Wright sought to identify it. He thought it possessed an eastern character. It was, no doubt, of Roman workmanship, and cut in Greek marble. At that period Greek marble was exported into the Roman States. He thought it might possibly be of the period suggested by Mr. Wright's paper, but much of the lower part of the face had been touched by modern hands; from the nose to the upper part of the hair was in its original state; and from its general appearance he should judge that it was of about two hundred years after Christ. He thought it was an Egyptian or an eastern countenance, but by no means one of Roman imperial character. No doubt part had been spoilt by a modern hand.

Mr. E. Roberts did not profess to have studied Greek or Roman sculpture very deeply, but he could not agree with Mr. Adams that the face was of Egyptian character. It was evidently sculptured on a grand principle, in order to be placed at a distance from the spectator, and it certainly seemed to him of a date anterior to the fourth century.

Mr. Holt considered that the head was a portion of a rough and unfinished statue.

Mr. G. Wright said he thought Mr. Adams wrong in supposing it to be of eastern character, and he agreed with Mr. Holt in thinking it quite unfinished.

Mr. F. A. Waite exhibited an engraved tobacco box of the seventeenth century, sent by Mr. Cullinan, a gentleman from the north of Ireland. The box had been in the possession of this gentleman's family for more than a century, and was said to have been carved by a Dutch trooper quartered in Ireland during the reign of William III.

The Chairman exhibited a marble head of the Empress Magnia Urbica, upon which he read the following remarks:—

“The Roman historians are certainly guilty of either favouritism or neglect; for whilst they are more or less diffuse upon the characters and exploits of such noble ladies as Livia Drusilla, Agrippina, Sabina, the Faustina, Crispina, and many more which might be cited, there are several others of equally exalted station who find no mention in their pages, and whose names reach us only through the medium of their money. Such, for instance, is Orbiana, wife of Severus Alexander; Paulina, wife of Maximinus; Cornelia Supera, wife of Æmilianus; Mariniana, presumed to be the third wife of Valerianus; Severina, wife of Aurelianus; Magnia Urbica, one of the many wives of Carinus; and Fausta, conjectured to be the wife of Constantius II. The coins recording the names of these ladies also present us with their lineaments, and through their aid we may perchance, sooner or later, be enabled to identify some of the busts of ‘unknown females’ which are to be seen in both English and Continental museums. It is through the assistance of coins and medals that I have been able to identify the marble head now brought to notice, and which unquestionably represents Magnia Urbica, one of the many wives of the Emperor Carinus. But before describing this, as far as I know, unique piece of sculpture, it will be well to say a few words respecting the lady's husband, the cruel and profligate Marcus Aurelius Carinus, the eldest son of Marcus Aurelius Carus. This foul atom of humanity was born A.D. 249, and every stage of his baneful existence, from youth to manhood, seems to be blackened by the deepest crimes. Yet in the year 282 he was proclaimed Caesar; and, on the mysterious death of his father in 283, he became joint Emperor with his brother Numerianus, and, after a brief reign, was assassinated in the moment of victory, at Margum in Moesia, A.D. 285; his rival, Diocletian, thus becoming sole master of the Roman Empire. Carinus is stated to have had in all nine wives, some of whom the wretch repudiated whilst they were bearing his own offspring. It is, perhaps, impossible to assign to Magnia Urbica her exact place among these unfortunate nine, though

there is reason to think that she was the Emperor's last consort, and the mother of Nigrinianus. That she was the spouse of Carinus during at least part of his imperiality, is manifested by a rare *Quinarius* in the British Museum, on the obverse of which is his helmeted bust, holding in his right hand a sceptre and the reins of a horse, and bearing on his left arm a shield; the legend being IMP. CARINVS. AVG.; whilst on the reverse we have the profile of MAGNIA. VRBICA. AVG. There is nothing on this little bronze coin to raise the Empress above the mortal, but on other pieces her bust appears like those of Tranquillina, Otacilia Severa, Etruscilla, Cornelia Supera, Mariniana, Salonina, and Severina, resting within the horns of a crescent, or in other words, in the character of the goddess Diana. Pinkerton (*Essay on Medals*, i, 176) says that an Empress was so exhibited 'to imply that she was the moon, as her husband was the sun of the state.'

"In the portrait under consideration Magnia Urbica appears in her simple humanity without any adventitious ornament, yet radiant with that which is far more precious than all the priceless gems of Golconda, a natural loveliness of feature and expression which cannot fail to charm the coldest of beholders. We know nothing regarding the period of either the birth or death of Magnia Urbica, but this likeness must have been made when she was, 'in pride of youth, in beauty's bloom,' when innocence and affection had full possession of her heart and mind. The forehead, though somewhat low, still indicates intelligence, the whole face is of delicate mould, the eyes expressive, the full lips of the pretty tiny mouth pressed together, and the little narrow chin neatly rounded off. As just observed, no ornaments are introduced, but the lady's tresses are formally arranged in twenty-one rolls on the sides and top of the head; with the long back hair divided into four rolls, and brought up over the crown in a broad plait, and secured in front.

"This important fragment of sculpture, though undeniably showing a sad decadence in art when compared with works of the Græco-Roman school, yet forms a favourable contrast to the productions of the age of Constantine. It bears all the peculiarities of busts of the third century of our era,—marked attention to the details of features, the chiseling out of the eye-balls and pupils, and careful delineation of the nostrils, ears, and hair. It measures full seven inches in height, and is wrought of the saccharine marble of Massa Carrara in the Northern Apennines; the quarries of which place are believed to have been opened in the time of Julius Caesar, and still continue to yield an abundant supply of material to the modern artist. From a strong quadrangular iron spike being inserted in the middle of the neck of this head we may safely conclude that it was once attached to a bust or statue, the remains of which are now lost. Of the history of this remnant of antiquity I can only repeat a statement, the truth of which I see no cause to doubt,

that it was once in the collection of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, and that when this nobleman's mansion in the Strand was pulled down in 1678, it, with other mutilated pieces of sculpture, was obtained by Boyder Cuper, who had been gardener in his lordship's family, and who employed these ancient relics in ornamenting a place of public amusement he had opened on the Surrey side of the Thames, just opposite Somerset House. John Aubrey in his *Survey*, when speaking of Cuper's Gardens, says that 'the conveniency of its arbours, walks, and several remains of Greek and Roman Antiquities, have made this place much frequented.' This disreputable establishment was closed in the year 1753, whilst under the management of Widow Evans; but one who well knew the locality before the Waterloo Road was formed through the centre of the grounds, told me he distinctly remembered pieces of antique sculpture lying about unheeded on banks and in hollows of the desolate-looking land, though the bulk of 'the Arundel Marbles' had gradually been dispersed to enrich the rock-work of suburban gardens. 'To what base uses may we come at last.' Our marble effigy of the august Magnia Urbica, which once probably adorned the stately palace of a proud Caesar in lovely Italy, after resting for awhile in the princely dwelling of an English nobleman, at length became the property of the keeper of a public garden in swampy Lambeth, and helped to decorate a rendezvous of vice and infamy. Well indeed may we say of this antique fragment as Byron said of Greece:—

“‘T were long to tell, and sad to trace,
Each step from splendour to disgrace.’”

12TH FEBRUARY, 1868.

THOS. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced:

William Burgess, Esq., Shenfield House, Brentwood, Essex
Henry F. Holt, Esq., 6, King's Road, Clapham Park
M. Charles Roessler, 9, Rue de la Chaussée, Havre, France.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

To the Society, Royal Archæological Institute, for Journal No. 94. 8vo. 1867.

To the Society of Antiquaries for Proceedings. Second Series, vol. 3. Nos. 3, 4, 5, 6, 8vo, 1866-1867. For Archæologia, vol. 41, Part 1, Quarto, 1867; and for List of Members, 1867. 8vo.

To the Author, Henry Eckroyd Smith, Esq., for Chromolithograph Plates of the Romulus and Remus Roman pavement at Aldborough, Yorkshire, with quarto sheet of letter press descriptive of the same.

To the Publishers, for Report of the Art Union of London for 1867.

Small octavo, and Almanacks for 1868. 16mo.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson said that he had received an interesting communication from the very Reverend Dr. Husenbeth, author of *Emblems of the Saints* (of which work a third edition is in preparation, and for which the learned compiler has gathered about one hundred and fifty additional emblems of Saints), upon the paintings on the Suffield rood Screen, copies of which have been lately exhibited before the Association. In Mr. Simpson's paper on Master John Schorn, *Journal*, vol. xxiii, p. 376, it is stated that two of the Saints "have been identified as S. Geron, M., and S. Louis, K.C., but which may be, perhaps, S. Oswald and S. Edmund the Martyr." Dr. Husenbeth writes to say that the figures are, beyond all doubt, those of S. Geron and S. Louis; and adds the following illustrative remarks:—

"S. Geron was first a nobleman and fond of hunting, and then a priest, and died a martyr. Here he is with his helmet and armour and falion, and over his armour a priest's black robe or cassock. No part of this is applicable to S. Oswald.

"S. Louis has a royal robe, a pilgrim's wallet and staff to indicate his journeys to the Holy Land, and the well-known three nails with which he is usually painted, with the addition here of a spear-head. None of these apply to S. Edmund except the royal mantle."

No mistake, therefore, can now exist as to the identification of these two interesting paintings. Dr. Husenbeth is kind enough to add a detailed list of the figures of the Gately Screen:—"South side.—1, S. Louis; 2, King Henry VI (another instance of veneration for one not canonised); 3, probably S. Augustin of England; 4, Magister Joh'es Schorn. North side.—1, S. Andria (S. Etheldreda); 2, S. Elizabeth, 3, B. V. Mary, together representing the visitation; 4, S. Puella Ridi-bowne (probably even another instance of veneration before canonisation)."

Mr. W. J. Baily exhibited a mould for casting pilgrims' signs; also three pilgrims' signs found at Brooks's Wharf, near Queenhithe, a *gip-sure* or purse from Mash Lane, and a metal flesh-hook from the site of Draper's Hill.

Mr. E. Roberts, F.S.A., observed that in Lady Webster's collection at Hastings there was a flesh-hook identical in form with the one now produced, but it was much lighter in weight. There were several figured in Dennis's *Etruria*. After further remarks by Messrs. T. Wright, Rev. W. S. Simpson, George Wright, and W. J. Baily,

Mr. Gunston exhibited portions of the osseous remains of the *Balanoptera boops*, just exhumed in Fenclurch Street. They consist of a vertebra, which, from the aspect of the epiphysial plates, had been purposely split asunder lengthways; and a part of a great rib, one end of

which clearly shows that it has been hacked through with an axe, and other tool marks are distinctly visible on the bone. This discovery of Cetacean relics forms an important addition to those already recorded in this *Journal* (xxiii, 251, 289).

Lord Boston, V.P., sent for exhibition the breast-plate of a Mameluke's horse, purchased by his lordship at the sale of the collection of the late Baron Denon, in whose *Travels in Egypt* it is engraved, but does not seem to be described. It is an octagonal plaque of greenish-white calcareous alabaster, four inches and three-eighths diameter, and half-an-inch thick. In the middle of this plaque is a circular ornament, two inches and one-eighth diameter, with a hemispherical umbo, once jeweled, but the socket is now *sine gemmis*. Around are arranged eleven beads of red coral in conic cloissonée setting, the whole bearing a singular resemblance to one class of Saxon and Frankish brooches. Near the margin of the plaque, and disposed at equal distances, are eight hemispheric bosses, five-eighths of an inch in diameter, which, like the central decoration, are of copper plated with silver. The metal work is secured to the field by shanks passing through the plaque and spread and flattened on the back, and on the back is fixed a disc of copper, with staples and rings, to which are sewed the ends of a strong leather belt, about three-quarters of an inch wide.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming stated that the breast-plate now kindly brought to notice by Lord Boston was the first of its kind ever submitted to the Association, and that a diligent inquiry had failed to discover its fellow in any English collection. That it is the identical specimen figured by Denon there cannot be a doubt, and as such its value and interest are greatly enhanced. Its material is the same sort of alabaster as is employed in Egypt for the mouth-pieces of smoking pipes, and was probably obtained from the mountains of the Thebaid, between the Nile and Red Sea, near the city of Alabastron; whence the ancient Egyptians drew their supply of the mineral. Mr. Cuming called attention to the fact that objects wrought of the pale greenish variety of alabaster are frequently described as of jade, the falsity of which description is easily detected by either the point of a needle or a drop of nitric acid; for true jade yields to neither, whilst alabaster is readily scratched, and effervesces with acid.

Mr. Kettle exhibited a very fine shoe-horn of the time of James I, seven inches and three-quarters in length, having its convex surface engraved with various subjects, the incised lines and dots being filled with a black substance. Among other devices appears a large rose and crown, bringing to mind the like figures on the little copper farthings of Charles I. There is also a bold fleur-de-lys, and beneath a knot, the date 1604. Upon the margin is inscribed—THUS. IS. FIVE. BARVELS SHOOING. HORNE. MADE. BY. THE. HANDS. OF. ROBERT. MINDYM. The names



both artist and owner of this curious implement have a very German or Dutch look about them, but the language of the legend and Tudor badge are thoroughly English. For notice of shoe-horns, see *Journal*, xviii, 375.

Mr. Henry F. Holt exhibited a carving in mahogany by Albert Durer, representing the visitation of the Virgin, executed in 1494, and read an interesting paper upon it, which will be given in the next number of our *Journal*. He also exhibited medallion portraits in silver of Martin Luther and his wife by the same artist.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills introduced to the notice of the Association a handsomely got up and illustrated work, entitled *The Towers and Temples of Ancient Ireland*, which had been presented to him by the author, Marcus Keane, Esq., M.R.I.A. The writer, he said, was a gentleman whom he had the pleasure of knowing, and who undoubtedly possessed much learning and information, although he had published such a curious treatise on this question of Irish round towers, which he considered from a new point of view. He was an enthusiast who had, no doubt, endeavoured to arrive at the truth. But it seemed to be the fate of the Irish archæologists to shroud a mysterious subject in still greater mystery, by every attempt to make it clearer. Mr. Hills noticed that in some cases the illustrations were incorrect, and pointed out one or two instances. The writer made out that the rock temples of India had been executed by Cuthites, whoever these people had been. He had pressed into the service of his theory the gods of the Greek mythology, and showed very clearly that his acquaintance with the facts of architectural history was somewhat limited. As an instance of this, he might mention that he called Boyle Abbey a Cuthite temple. Now, any man with a thorough knowledge of the subject could have no difficulty in pronouncing Boyle Abbey to be an early Cistercian building. He was equally abroad as to Jerpoint, which he asserted had had an existence long before the Cistercians adopted it for themselves. He was also excessively ingenious in converting the Irish saints into early heathen gods and goddesses. For instance, he makes out Darerca to be identical with a Scythian goddess Dercetus, whose name he derives half from the Greek *κῆτος* (which, as he asserts on the authority of Bryant, signifies an "ark", though heretofore it has never been discovered to have meant anything but a "whale" or "sea-monster"), and half from the Irish *duire*, "an oak"; thus translating the name into "Ark of the Oak" (p. 130). He said, moreover, that the crosses, especially the stone crosses, were not evidences of Christian origin; for the cross was not a simply Christian ornament: and this was, no doubt, true; but many of the crosses represent the Crucifixion; and these, surely, had none other than a Christian origin. Mr. Keane, however, alleged that there had been a legend of a Crucifixion long before the coming of Christ. After

some further remarks, Mr. G. Hills laid the book on the table for examination by the members.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited a hand from a bronze statue found in Gracechurch Street, in reference to which Mr. Syer Cuming, V.-P., read the following remarks:—

“ON REMAINS OF ROMAN STATUES OF BRONZE FOUND IN LONDON.”

“With a few notable exceptions, the great majority of Roman articles of bronze found in London, rarely exceed three or four inches in length, and do not reach an ounce in weight. *Styli* and hair-pins are among the longest objects of ordinary occurrence, and fragments of table and culinary vessels afford the most familiar evidence of larger works in this metal. So scarce, indeed, are examples of even moderate-sized Roman bronzes, that an enumeration of the entire number known to have been discovered in the metropolis would barely occupy a dozen lines of our *Journal*. The mythological images recovered in 1837 from the Thames near London Bridge, and now in the British Museum, may be classed among the extra-sized brazen relics, but the tallest of the deities when perfect cannot have measured more than nine or ten inches in height. Of infinitely finer execution, and apparently prior date, is the statuette of the archer, exhumed in Queen Street, Cheapside, in July 1842, and now in the Londesborough Collection; but still this is far from remarkable on the score of dimensions (except so far as London is concerned); for, from its crouching attitude, it is but about eleven inches high. Some have supposed this beautiful work to be a representation of Pandarus aiming an arrow at Menelaus, as described in the fourth book of Homer's *Iliad*.

“Traces of heroic-sized statues are of such extreme rarity that, so far as I can yet learn, we can speak of but four fragments of such having been brought to light in London, but these remnants of ancient art are of the highest interest and value. Pre-eminent among them is the colossal head of the Emperor Hadrian, dredged up from the bed of the Thames on the southern side of the river a little below old London Bridge, in 1832, and which was purchased for the nation for the sum of £110, at the sale of the Newman Collection in 1848. This magnificent treasure is described and delineated in the first volume of our *Journal*, p. 286.

“It is a curious circumstance that the whole of the other evidence we possess of the former existence in Roman London of large brazen statues, come to us in the remains of *hands*, and what is still more singular, these remains have all turned up within a very limited area. Beginning at the most eastern point of discovery, namely, towards the Tower Hill end of Lower Thames-street, we have to notice a right hand with the first joint of the thumb broken off, the index finger extended,

and the three other fingers folded on the palm. The wrist of this hand is eleven inches in circumference, and the extreme length of the relic thirteen inches. This admirable example of ancient casting became the property of the nation, with the rest of the Smith Collection, in 1855, and is engraved in plate 7, fig. 1.

“Wending our way a little westward, we come upon the next trace of a colossal statue of bronze near the site of old St. Gabriel, Fenchurch, when the sewer was carried through the street in 1833. There were exhumed a considerable number and variety of Roman reliquiæ, the most novel of which were the two fingers I now produce, which were evidently broken from a very large muscular hand; and, though the metal is sadly ruined by oxydation, we can still see that the nails in this, as in the Thames Street specimen, have been decidedly and carefully developed, which is at once characteristic of the best period of Roman art. The fingers measure, respectively, five and four and a quarter inches along the outer bend, and three and a half and four inches round the thickest parts. The statue to which these digits belonged probably decorated the *atrium* of some important habitation, the tessellated pavements of which were exposed opposite Nos. 36 and 132, Fenchurch Street, together with the bases of walls, etc. An account of these discoveries from the pen of the late E. I. Carlos is given in the *Gent. Mag.*, February 1834, p. 158, and I may add that the fingers under review were formerly in Mr. Carlos’s possession with many other interesting relics found at the same time and place. The largest and best preserved of these digits is given of full size in plate 7, fig. 2.

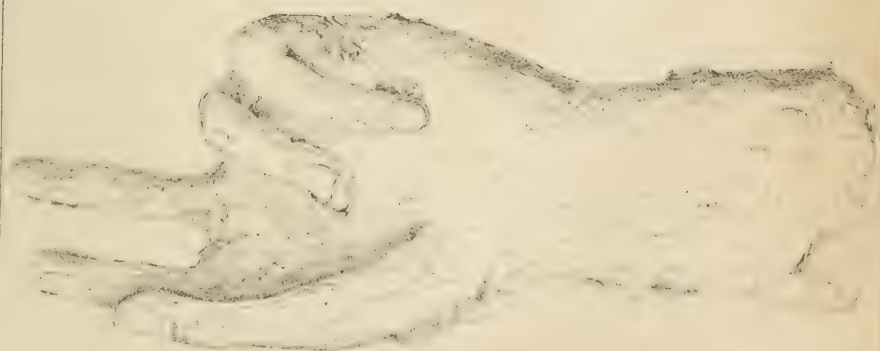
“The most western and latest find of a portion of a Roman statue of heroic-size, was made about the middle of the month of October 1867, on the site of the famous old hostel, *The Spread Eagle*, Gracechurch Street, and is now the property of Mr. J. W. Bailey, by whose permission it is engraved in the plate, 7, fig. 3. It is a well proportioned left hand, of which the following is the measurement: length, from tip of finger to fractured edge of wrist, nine inches and three-quarters. Breadth across the knuckles, four inches and a half. Circumference of wrist next the hand, seven inches and five-eighths. Circumference at fractured end, eight inches and eleven-sixteenths. The thumb and first and second fingers are nearly extended, but the two other fingers are folded towards the palm; the little finger having at some distant period of time sustained a blow, which gives it a rather hooked form, and produced a slight fissure at the back of the hand. The nails in this, as in other early instances, are very nicely wrought, proving that care and attention were bestowed on the details of the subject.

“Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv, 8) condemns Nero for having caused a bronze statue of Alexander the Great by Lysippus to be adorned with



full size

3





gold; but there cannot be a doubt that the Greeks, like the Egyptians, gilded their brazen, as they painted their earthen and lithic effigies, and it is important to note that traces of gilding are distinctly perceptible on several parts of this truly beautiful hand from Gracechurch Street.

"There is another fact in connection with this fine and rare work of art which must not be passed over in silence, viz., that within the fractured wrist, and completely filling the cavity, there still remains the nucleus or core of sandy loam in which the statue was cast, and which is employed to secure a given thickness of metal.

"We have recorded the fact that the two colossal fingers from Fenchurch Street were exhumed in close proximity to tessellated pavements, and the bronze from Gracechurch Street was discovered under like circumstances. The pavement or pavements beneath *The Spread Eagle* were of considerable extent, bespeaking a dwelling-place of some persons of opulence and rank, their high position being further manifested by the possession of so fine and costly a statue as the one must have been whose hand is all that now remains to tell the story of the past.

"But when, where, and by whom was the statue made of which this hand is so important a portion? These questions are of profound interest, but difficult to solve. The style of execution of this hand leads to the belief that the effigy was in all likelihood wrought towards the close of the first century of our era, and there is much in the aspect of the ferruginated sandy loam forming the core, which prompts the notion that the work was cast in London. We have, however, no written testimony that at this early period Britain could boast an artist equal to the task; but just about the time to which the statue may be referred, there dwelt in Gallia Cisalpina, a Greek named Zenodorus, whose fame as a statuary was not confined to the province, but spread to the imperial capital.¹ After making a colossal image of Mercury for the Metropolis of the Arverni, and fulfilling other commissions in Gaul, he was summoned to Rome to create an effigy of Nero a hundred and ten feet high, which that Emperor desired for the vestibule of his golden house, and which Vespasian subsequently dedicated as a statue of the sun. Zenodorus, therefore, seems to have been an itinerant artist, willing to work where work was to be found, and there is nothing improbable in the idea that his services were requested, and his skill exercised, as far north as *Londinium*, and that some of the fragments of the large brazen images here brought to light are the conceptions of his brain, the tactile evidence of his craft. But by whomsoever they may have been devised and wrought, they serve in some degree to confirm and elucidate the statement of Pliny, that in

¹ Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiv, 7.

his time there was not a good town within the Roman provinces in which they had not begun to adorn the market-places with brazen statues, with titles, honours, and dignities graven on their bases. The colossal hand of Hadrian from the Thames is beyond all question a portion of a public effigy.

“If London has yielded but few remnants of large works of Roman bronze, it appears rich in such things when compared with the rest of England, for search the country through you will meet with but scant traces of objects in this metal of any considerable size—the superb and matchless helmet, with its *persona*, found at Ribchester, Lancashire, the statuette, twenty-two inches high, of the loricated soldier discovered near Barking Hall, Suffolk, 1799 (both in the British Museum), the leg and hoof of a horse from Lincoln (now the property of the Society of Antiquaries of London), and the head of Apollo, exhumed at Bath, are, perhaps, the chief and choicest relics of Roman art which the counties have produced, and the ravages of time, and still more destructive influence of man, have left us to admire.”

Mr. G. Adams remarked that the hand exhibited was so wretchedly modelled that he could not conceive it to be the work of any eminent artist. He also doubted whether the metal of which it was formed was bronze, and, in fact, whether it was an ancient work at all. He was, upon the whole, more inclined to regard it as a forgery, and at any rate, whatever it was, it had no claim whatever to any artistic beauty or symmetry of treatment.

Mr. J. W. Baily said that there could be no doubt but that the metal of which the hand was composed was bronze, and he himself had every belief in its being a genuine work of ancient art. The casting of such works was often faulty, which might account for that want of symmetrical treatment which Mr. Adams had pointed out.

Mr. E. Roberts thought that the statue was certainly ancient, but that it had been cast at the period of the decadence of art.

After further remarks by Mr. Cuming (who thought that the hand was probably cast some time during the first century after Christ), Mr. Holt, Mr. G. Wright, Mr. Tenniswood, and Mr. T. Wright,

Mr. E. Roberts, Hon. Secretary, read the following

“NOTES ON A LOW SIDE WINDOW, BERKELEY CHURCH, GLOUCESTERSHIRE,

BY J. T. IRVINE, ESQ.

“During the repairs of this church last year (1867) a low side window of an interesting description was discovered.

“The church, mostly of late Early English or early decorated date, has originally had some very unusual peculiarities in its design. It consists of nave and nave aisles, north porch, chancel, with chapels on each side: these were at first of the same date as the nave, but the south

chapel has been during the perpendicular period rebuilt, and is the burial place of the Lords of Berkeley. The western portions of the chancel walls are formed of what were probably the nave walls of the Saxon Nunnery of the time of the Confessor; and the Early English chancel arch has its responds built up between and unbonded to them, these having given way and buckled, in late perpendicular times had been stiffened by a strong, heavy, and rather domestic looking stone screen built across the opening, at which period some Roman building must have been discovered near; for in the rough stone-work of it Roman bricks had been used bearing the stamp of the sixth legion, an impression of which I had the pleasure of bringing before the Association at the time, and since then the lower portion of the basis of two very large turned Roman stone columns have been discovered. The nave appears to have been the work of one period and one design, as far as the present north and south doors, which design was extended a few years later by adding the two bays west of them, and including that comprising the doors. The present west window, Early English, had I think been then preserved and rebuilt. The present north aisle had replaced an earlier building, as in underpinning the outside of present wall, the former wall was found inside about half-way through, having flat buttresses attached to it. It would appear from the way in which the windows are placed at the east end of aisles, that the south aisle at least was designed to have a wooden gallery the whole length, the floor of which was at the level of the springing of the nave arches. This gallery had been divided, according to the whole number of bays in the nave, into seven chantry chapels by wooden screens, whose outer uprights had a slot prepared for it in the aisle wall; these slots have been preserved, and can now be seen, so that the arrangement can be perfectly understood at a glance. These chantry chapels had been probably prepared for the children of the Berkeley family who died young, and three small figures, which bear traces of painting and gilding, now lie loose on the sills of the aisle windows, beneath which they appear to have been removed, when at the reformation the chantries were destroyed; a small and beautiful cross slab was also found on edge in the earth underneath, in which it seemed to have remained since the time it was thrown over the gallery front. This had not been the only gallery, as at the north-west corner of west end of nave a stone staircase remains, having an entrance yet perfect which must have led into another wooden gallery against north wall of nave, I suppose an organ or music gallery.

“The chapel on the north side of chancel is divided from the north aisle, and also from the chancel, by solid walls, and had been since the Reformation used as a vestry. In its north wall it had a modern fire-place, the flue of which was formed through the inner arch of a window. This fire-place, Mr. G. G. Scott, who restored the church, had removed

into the north-east angle of the room, and the window restored; it was found to be a curious specimen of a low side window.

Of all the theories propounded respecting these lights the only one that would accord with this is the conjecture of Mr. J. J. Cole, that they were to enable the sound of a small bell rung at the elevation of the Host, to be heard by the people in the village which lay on that side. The height of the sill of window from the floor inside, and the thickness of wall, would render it quite impossible for anyone to have reached to pass the wafer through the opening; and from the fact that the ground at no time could ever have been less than full five feet from the opening on the exterior, it was quite evident it would have been almost impossible to use it from that side. At present the height from the ground to the window is much more, as the soil has been removed to a considerable depth round the walls, to render them and the interior of the church dry. It may be remarked also that, although the sill inside has been always at the level shown, and also the exterior sill at what it is now, leaving thus a thin blank portion of some considerable depth between them, yet that the present quatrefoil is, as it will be seen, of perpendicular date, while the window is an earlier one. It was so unusual an example of these peculiar openings that I thought it well to bring it before the observation of the members, as it might be useful to compare it with others.

"Inside there remained the holes for the ironwork of the original shutter, to these a new date shutter has been carefully fitted, and it now serves the very good purpose of ventilating the church by enabling them while keeping the west door open together with that from vestry into chancel to produce a direct draught through the building."

Mr. Irvine forwarded a rough plan, coloured so as to illustrate his remarks, and show the dates of the various parts of the building.

Mr. J. W. Grover laid before the meeting a drawing which he had made of a low side window at Hitcham, Bucks, upon which he made a few observations, and stated that it was of the date of *circa* 1360.

26TH FEBRUARY, 1868.

GEORGE GODWIN, ESQ., F.R.S., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following member was announced:

Reginald Yorke, Esq., Newmarket.

It was also announced that the Annual Congress would be held at Cirencester from the 3rd to the 8th of August, and that Earl Bathurst had kindly consented to accept the Presidency.

L. Vanderpant, Esq., exhibited a bronze sarcophagus found in the Etruscan cemetery at Perugia, and laid before the meeting the following observations respecting it:—

"It is with great diffidence that I introduce to the notice of our

members an object which I am given to understand possesses singular claims to our attention, not only from its intrinsic merit as a beautiful specimen of the advanced state of art at a period so early as six hundred years before the Christian Era, but as having possibly contained the ashes of the wife of one of the early Roman kings.

"The work submitted to your inspection consists of a bronze sepulchral urn, found in the Etruscan Necropolis of Perugia about two years since.

"As the work is before you, it is needless for me to enter into any description of it, beyond calling your attention to the inscription, '*Tanquilla*,' which has led very careful archæologists to believe it to be the sarcophagus of the ashes of the wife of Tarquinius Priscus, the fifth king of Rome, whose reign commenced B.C. 616.

"It would appear that only one other urn is known to exist similar to the one before us, and that was obtained for the Museum de L'Ermitage of St. Petersburg at an enormous cost. It is at the present time universally regarded as one of the most interesting objects of the collection. The bronze now exhibited has attracted much attention from the archæological *savans* of Italy, and among others of the Marquis de Campana (one of the most celebrated in that country), who testifies his opinion and the pleasure which the urn had afforded him in terms of which the accompanying extracts (marked No. 1) from a letter dated Florence, June 4, 1867, and addressed to Messrs. Riblet and Co., are a translation; while the sentiments of Professor Achille Genarelli, of Florence, are expressed in the extracts marked No. 2, and dated Florence, February 10, 1867.

"No. 1.—The inspection you invited me to make in your Studio of Antiquities and Fine Arts in Via dei Panzani of an Etruscan Urn, having a semi-lying figure on the upper part, has caused me a very pleasing surprise, and I cannot hesitate after the scrupulous inspection I have made, to inform you that the bronze-work in question presents to me all the characteristics of antiquity.

"It might, indeed, be called *unique*, not for the subject which has been found frequently repeated in terracotta or indigenous stone, but for its material; had it not been that another small urn, also in bronze, a little larger and more valuable for its artistic merit, and for its more remote antiquity than yours, which, as well as this, emerged from the same Necropolis of Perugia, preceded by several years the discovery of your own.

"I will also add that the above-mentioned urn presents the small figure lying on the cover in the same posture as yours, from which it only differs for want of any ornaments in front and on the sides.

"This monument which was by archæologists considered as one of the gems of my Etruscan Museum, now adorns the excellent collection

of the Museum de L'Ermitage at St. Petersburg, and has been illustrated by the Archæological Institute of Rome, and in other subsequent publications.

"I will conclude by saying that your bronze urn (though its style indicates the decline of that art which is commonly called Etrusco-Roman), which is similar to the one of the Sepulchre dei Volumni, will always be considered as a true and important monument, and is well worthy to figure in any public or private museum.

"I will merely add that, not satisfied with the favourable impression the urn produced on me on the occasion of my inspection, I have taken care since to procure information from undoubted sources of the origin of the urn, and to establish with the testimony of disinterested persons the circumstances which accompanied its casual discovery in the Agro Perugino.'

"No. 2.—I have examined with much attention the Etruscan bronze urn which you have submitted to me, and on which you ask my opinion.

"I do not entertain the least doubt about its authenticity; it is not a monument imitated or falsified, but it is absolutely an antique one, and any one who should say the contrary would evidently be not at all familiar with the objects which come out of the Etruscan Necropolis. You can recast and renew a work of art; but those alterations which are caused by the length of time on bronze, namely, the verdigris, the rust, and all those changes which multiplied ages will effect on works of bronze cannot be counterfeited nor renewed.

"The style of the small sarcophagus makes me think that it is of the period approaching the empire, and the urns of the Sepolcreto dei Volumni of Perugia (where it is asserted the bronze was found) indicate an evident synchronism. I have had no time yet to study the inscription, but the first letters denote the name of a Tanaquilla, whose ashes it contained. This name is not new in the monuments of Perugia. Bronze vases, painted vases, candelabres, looking glasses, statues large and small, are continually brought out of the Etruscan Necropolis, but a bronze sarcophagus is a novelty and an extraordinary fact."

Mr. Vanderpant also produced a certificate from Professors Cocchi and Schiff, the most eminent chemical authorities in Florence, stating that they had examined the urn, and tested the metal of which it was composed and the coating with which it was covered, and that they entertained no doubt of its genuine antiquity.

A discussion then took place, during which Mr. E. Roberts observed that although some of the letters of the inscription upon the urn were Etruscan, others appeared to him to resemble very closely certain characters upon some recent forgeries, and at his suggestion the further consideration of the subject was adjourned to the next meeting.

H. F. Holt, Esq., exhibited two wood carvings by Hans Springinkle, an illuminator, engraver, and sculptor, who flourished at the end of the fifteenth and the commencement of the sixteenth centuries. He also read a paper containing memoirs of the artist and notices of his works, which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

J. Edmonds, Esq., exhibited the wedding ring given by Martin Luther to Catherine Boren on their marriage. This ring is the property of Mr. Frederick Gauss, banker, Vienna, in whose family it has been (and can be traced) for two hundred and fifty years. A similar ring, if not the same, was exhibited to the Association on November 22, 1855. A detailed description of it will be found in the *Journal*, vol. x, p. 375; and inquiries will be made as to whether this ring is the identical one that was previously exhibited or not; it having been sometimes the custom to have *two* wedding-rings executed after the same pattern, one of which was retained by the bridegroom, while the other was, of course, given to the bride.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited the remains of an Anglo-Saxon or Danish sword, the property of the Rev. J. W. Hall, Minor Canon of St. Paul's. The entire length of the fragment is seventeen inches, about three inches and three-quarters being occupied by the tang. The double-edged blade measures about one inch and eight-twelfths across its widest part, and the top is sloped off on either side in the manner seen in the Teutonic swords found in London, now in the British Museum; as also in examples given in Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, pl. 66, figs. 245, 247, 249. The weapon now produced was discovered six feet deep in silty earth, in the basin of the river Lea, at Tottenham, when the new reservoir was being dug. Near it was a human skeleton, and a skull belonging to another individual. A number of stags' horns were met with within a short distance of these remains.

George Vere Irving, Esq., F.S.A.S., exhibited seals of the burgh of Lanark, upon which he read the following observations:—

“I exhibit four impressions of the seals of this ancient Scotch corporation. They are most interesting as illustrating the origin and history of our Scotch burghs in their different classes of royal regality and barony. All these classes appear to have originated in a cluster of houses built in the vicinity, and under the protection of a castle of the king, or of that of a powerful nobleman or ecclesiastical dignitary. The burgh of Lanark arose in this way round a royal castle or hunting seat, of which only the mound now remains, the flat top of which is used as a bowling green.

“The arms of the burgh I am convinced are derived from the official ones of the castellan thereof. He appears to have had the charge of two royal forests in the neighbourhood, whence, perhaps, the double head of the bird.

“At one of these, in the parish of Pettinain, the royal kennels were established in the reign of Alexander III, 1249-86, when that king issued his warrant to his sheriff and baillies of Lanark, to hold an inquest to determine on what terms Adam of the Livery held the lands of Padwan, which he has of the king *in capite*, and what services he owes the king. The jury returned a verdict, ‘That the said Adam and his heirs were bound to render to the king the service of two bowmen, (*architenencium*) and one sufficient *serviens* on horseback, for making livery of all kinds that ought to be made in entertainment of gillies (*garcionibus*) and dogs,’ the last of which we find on the Lanark seals.

“The bird on the same I believe to be a falcon, an establishment of which was probably kept in the royal castle at Lanark.

“As to the fish with what is commonly called a ring in its mouth, referring, as has generally been supposed, to a legend of St. Kentigern, to whom the church of Lanark was dedicated, I am inclined to believe that the ring represents the hook, and the fish a salmon. The falls of the Clyde prevent the salmon passing up as far as the Forest of Pettinain, but the keepers of the castle of Lanark had also charge of the royal forest of Mauldesby, in Carluke parish, where salmon fishings exist to the present day.

“It will be observed that in the first of the seals I exhibit the inscription is *Sigillum commune Burgi de Lanark*, and in the three subsequent ones it is *Civitas*. This appears to refer to the changes about the period of 1369, when Linlithgo and Lanark were substituted for Berwick and Roxburgh, in the great court of the four burghs, which is now merged in the convention of royal burghs.

“It will occur to all conversant with Scotch armorials that there is much in common between those of the see of Glasgow and the burgh of Lanark.

“It has been generally supposed that the arms of the see of Glasgow were derived from the legends of St. Kentigern as given to us by Joceline of Furness, but investigation has proved that they are not so derived. I have this morning received a note from Dr. Gordon, the learned author of the *Scotichronicon*, in which he says ‘the *fish, bird, and ring*, appear for the *first* time on the seal of Bishop Robert Wishhart, A.D. 1271-1316.’ I have not had time to look fully into the subject; but I am thoroughly convinced that the arms of the see of Glasgow refer, *not* to any legends of St. Kentigern, but to the forest and fishing rights which the see had acquired shortly before the time of Bishop Wishhart.

“It will be observed that in the two earliest of the Lanark seals there is no sign of a *bell*. I at one time thought that the bells in the two latter referred to falconry, but I am now convinced I was mistaken. Lady Julia de Berners tells us that these bells should be carried in pairs

and equally weighted, a rule which is certainly not complied with in the Lanark seal, where it first appears. I suspect that these bells refer to the patronage of churches, and in the case of the burgh of Lanark to a claim that the corporation set up, about the beginning of last century, to be patrons of the parish church, a claim which, however, was never seriously insisted upon.

"Another idea has been suggested, viz., that the bell in the latest of the seals of the burgh refers to a bell which is now, after a lapse of many years, annually challenged for at the Burgh races. There can be no doubt that the bell on seal No. IV is very much identical with the racing ones; the two being of about the same date, and the latter having on it inscriptions which confirm this. This racing bell is, however, totally unlike that on No. III, and, therefore, I do not think it has any connection with the seals.

"I had hoped to have been able to have exhibited this evening a number of the Glasgow seals, but I am sorry to say I have been disappointed. I can, however, produce a copper coin with a most beautiful impression on the arms of that city, representing the forest and water privileges belonging to the Archbishop. What I would, however, particularly call attention to, is the position of the bird, which clearly shows, when the branches of the tree on which it is standing are considered, that it is intended to represent a heron, on its nest; and, therefore, indicates the Archbishop's right to a heronry in his forest of Lockwood."

Mr. Planché differed entirely from Mr. Irving in thinking that the bird was a falcon. It was, he had no doubt, an eagle. A spread eagle appeared on the Lanark seals. We were well aware that the spread eagle, as he had shown long since, had arisen from the dimidiation of arms, by which two copies of the one side of a shield were afterwards joined, producing the eagle with two heads. No doubt it had become the cognisance of imperial families afterwards.

J. W. Grover, Esq., read a paper upon a Roman villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire, which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Chairman said that at the period of the next Congress, which was to be held at Cirencester, it was probable the members would be enabled to inspect these interesting ruins. He might observe, by the way, for the benefit of those who were ignorant of the fact, that in different parts of the country there were the remains of some fifty Roman cities built by that people during their occupation of Britain.

British Archaeological Association.

TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING, LUDLOW, 1867.

JULY 29TH TO AUGUST 3RD INCLUSIVE.

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Proceedings of the Congress.

ON Monday, the 29th of July, 1867, the Association met at Ludlow for its twenty-fourth Annual Congress, the President for the year being Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, of Downton Hall, Bart.. Soon after four o'clock the members and visitors assembled at the Guildhall; but, owing to that building being occupied by the County Magistrates, who had not concluded their sitting, an adjournment was made to the Assembly Rooms, where George Wright, Esq., F.S.A., the Hon. Curator, Librarian, and Excursion Secretary to the Association, briefly announced the plan of operations for the week. He said that "the first thing to be done was to inspect as many of the most interesting remains of antiquity in the town, as time would permit them to visit, under the able guidance of a gentleman well known and highly esteemed by all who heard him, Mr. Thomas Wright, who had kindly undertaken the office of *cicerone*, and who would, he was sure, show to them all that was best worth seeing, and descant upon it with his usual ability."

Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., V.P., observed that before starting he wished to call their attention to a small attempt which had been made with regard to a local museum. Although many of the objects promised had not yet arrived, still he would point out two or three specimens which were well worthy of examination. Amongst these were two objects brought by himself from the ancient city of Uriconium; and until the present year such Roman relics had not been known to exist. They consisted of two ordinary candlesticks used by the people in their houses, one being totally perfect, the other very much broken. As an appropriate accompaniment to these, Mr. More, of Linley Hall, had promised to send two candles, and various other things, which had not yet arrived. Those were the only objects at present in the museum relating to very remote antiquity, but a few objects of a less important though interesting character would be found. There was also a number of selections from the records of the Corporation of Ludlow, and manuscripts relating to two of the old guilds of Ludlow, the Hammerman's and Stitcher's Companies, with the curious

old money boxes in which their contributions were placed. Amongst the documents he would call particular attention to were some plans and elevations of Ludlow Castle, made in the year 1764, and presented by Earl Powis, representing the castle in a much more perfect state than it is in now; in fact, in as nearly a perfect state as possible. In conclusion, Mr. Wright alluded to some coins and other articles in the museum.

The company then proceeded to make their perambulation round the town, and the objects first examined were the gables of two houses nearly opposite the castle entrance. At the Rev. R. Meyricke's stables a halt was made, and the building now used as a coach-house was examined. This was evidently the chancel of some old monastic chapel, the moulded ribs of the interior being in an exceedingly perfect state. The date of the chancel is supposed to be about 1175 or 1180. The Grammar School in Mill-street was next inspected, and here Mr. Thos. Wright explained that it was the oldest existing Grammar School in the country, and was founded by the Palmers' guild, to whom the town owed the church and its principal charities. The charter of the Palmers' guild was obtained as early as the thirteenth century from Edward the First. In the beginning of the reign of Edward the Sixth, the guild was dissolved, and all their charities were given to the town and vested in the Corporation. The school was reincorporated, and had existed ever since as the school of the town. There was nothing very remarkable about the building, which was erected by the Corporation in the fifteenth century. Lane's asylum was next visited, on the timber of which appears to be the date 1672. This asylum was built by money left by the Ludford family, and was still maintained, partly by the amount arising from that money and partly by subscription. After examining the oak ceiling and pannelling in the shop and parlour of Mr. James Hockley, baker, the company proceeded to the Reader's house in the churchyard. It is a fine example of an old house, having been built early in the seventeenth century. The date on the building is A.D. 1616. The old college was the last place visited, but nothing very interesting or curious remains about the building, which is now used as stables and stores.

At 6.30 the members and their friends, among whom were several ladies, assembled at the Feathers Hotel for dinner, it having been announced by the President that he should take that opportunity of delivering his inaugural address.

At about 6.45 he took the chair, being supported by Col. Colvin, C.B.; Capt. the Hon. G. H. W. Windsor Clive, M.P.; Jasper More, Esq., M.P.; J. F. Severne, Esq., M.P.; Rev. W. C. Sparrow; F. R. Southern, Esq. (the ex-Mayor, who officiated as Deputy for the Mayor, W. Whiteman, Esq., who was absent from ill-health), and others.

After the cloth had been removed, and the usual loyal and complimentary toasts had been drank,

Sir Charles R. Broughton rose and said: "Often, Mr. Mayor—or I ought perhaps to say Mr. Deputy Mayor—as I have had the pleasure of taking part with the inhabitants of Ludlow in the promotion of either the work or the pleasure of the district, it has never yet been my lot to have to ask you to consider me as a stranger, nor have I ever heretofore requested you, as I do to-day, to look upon me as representing the voice of a distinguished body who have lately arrived in your borough; that greatness has, however, in a great man's words, and through the kindness of my friends, "been thrust upon me," and in discharge of the duties connected with it, I have now to express to you, sir, on their behalf, their best thanks for the cordial welcome which, in the name of the inhabitants of this borough, you have given them. That welcome the friends who are now around me well understand and appreciate. They do not for a moment suppose that necessarily the greater number of your body are strongly imbued with antiquarian tastes; they know too well that the graver business of existence leaves comparatively little leisure for the attainment of excellence in any one merely pleasurable pursuit; they do nevertheless appreciate your welcome, they appreciate it as a sign of that which sweetens all labour—the approbation of those whose education and intelligence make their countenance of worth. I do not intend to follow a custom that has sometimes been adopted by those in the same position in which I have now the honour to be, that of giving a long antiquarian discourse upon the objects of interest in the neighbourhood, although it would have been comparatively easy to have made such a speech in a district so rich in archæological facts. My reasons are, first, that I doubt whether an after-dinner meeting composed of people of different tastes is the most fit place for such a plan to be followed; and, secondly, because I feel very acutely how instantly the slightest error, or slip of the tongue even, would be detected by those far better informed persons than I am whom I now see around me. A third reason might be that the number, the value, and the light, agreeable way in which many of the published records are written, make them far better means of conveying information than the most elaborate intelligence delivered *vivâ voce* at a public meeting. But then, gentlemen, if you are to have an archæological president, who, by his own confession, is incompetent to deal with archæological subjects, the question naturally obtrudes itself, why an association of such unquestioned merit and standing as the one I am now addressing, should find it necessary to go out of its way to secure a simple country gentleman to descant upon the value of a knowledge of which he has far less acquaintance than many of his hearers? I had no sooner, however, asked myself such a question than the answer seemed to suggest itself from what occurred

to me many years ago, when I was the tenant of the Old Priory at Wenlock. At that time I remember but little was said of a former owner of the ruins, who had pulled down great portions of them to build cottages and repair farm-buildings in the neighbourhood, but the very greatest indignation was expressed at a footman who belonged to one of the numerous pic-nic parties who came to the place, and who, perhaps, to secure a memento, but certainly without any particular wish to do mischief, did nevertheless commit a dire antiquarian offence, a breach of the peace, which even at this distance of time *horresco referens*, for he actually knocked off one of the corbel's noses! So much had archaeological feeling increased that the wholesale destruction of one of the most interesting of our monastic remains received less censure when it happened in one generation, than did this forcible abstraction of the corbel's nose in our day. To apply this story, I think my friends, in appointing me to this post of honour, must have had some hope that I might perhaps beneficially exert myself in my own district to protect the corbels' noses. But I feel it would be in the highest degree presumptuous and unnecessary for me to attempt to read any lecture to the higher classes amongst the residents of Ludlow as to the duty of preserving, as far as may be, uninjured, the relics that have come down to them from olden times, more especially in a town which, like your own, has not only, by the creation of its water-works, the amelioration of its drainage, the establishment of its markets and schools, reading-rooms and museum, done so much to provide for the modern wants of the inhabitants, but which has also, in an antiquarian and still higher spirit, largely burdened itself to make its church, in fact what it has long been in name, the finest ecclesiastical building in Shropshire. To such a town, I say, no amateur archaeologist need give his advice. But, at the same time, you are aware that many among the less educated members of the community do not always see (because they have never been taught) the real value of archaeological remains, and that they frequently and unknowingly do an infinity of mischief by thoughtlessly knocking off corbels' noses, and other similar acts of Vandalism. To all such I would venture very humbly, but very decidedly, to say that they are not marching with the intelligence, with the education, or with the refinement of their day, when they themselves either thoughtlessly destroy, or permit the destruction by others, of any archaeological remains—those heir-looms of their country, which, when once they are lost, no modern laurels, no commercial success can ever replace. One who was well-known to the members of this society, and still better known to the inhabitants of Ludlow, the late Mr. Beriah Botfield, at the Shrewsbury Congress of the Association, of which he was president, made the following remark:—"If you want a people to cherish a love of their native place, and to improve it at some cost to themselves, fill their minds with

the grandeur of its past history ; let them be made conscious of their identification with the centuries that are gone, and then ask of their sympathies, a future worthy of their ancestors." Those feelings, which animated the president in 1862, are the same as those which I have good reason to believe animate your visitors to Ludlow to-day, and they do not ask the residents in this district for their sympathy and co-operation, merely because they can elucidate the manners and the customs, the arts and the decorations of a bygone period ; these things are, no doubt, interesting in themselves, but they are very secondary to that better sort of antiquarianism, that true archaic feeling, which loves ancient things, not merely because they are rare, but because in the contemplation of them can most clearly be detected the spirit of ages gone by, can best be obtained, as it were from the oil wells of the earth, the strongest light to illuminate our future. Man is continually, daily, hourly changing ; he leaves behind all that his ancestors have accomplished, and is advancing towards an unknown, indefinite future ; and it is because archaeology (as Sir Stafford Northcote said at Exeter) is the science which enables us to appreciate this progress that it is a noble, an interesting, and an elevating study. It must be a subject of much satisfaction to many of us that the rich field of antiquarian research which lies before our visitors is no barren ground, but that, on the contrary, it has long been appreciated and largely cultivated by the literary labours of Shropshire men. Amongst the most valuable I may mention Mr. Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, a work without which not only no Shropshire but no antiquarian library in the country would be considered complete. Another Shropshire labourer who has lately been taken from us is one who will long be remembered by the members of this Society, as one of their most learned associates, one of their most genial companions, and by myself, and probably many others here, as their kind, thoughtful host in his rectory at Holdenby—I mean the author of *Salopia Antiqua* ; and sad it is, I venture to think, for this Association to have to reflect that the obituary of the same number of their journal should have had to record the deaths of Thomas Pettigrew and of Charles Hartshorne. I need not do more than briefly allude to your President in 1862, and who, on that occasion at Shrewsbury, gave you such an instructive address, such a pleasing, condensed summary of the history of Shropshire. By my friends in the Association Mr. Botfield will not soon be forgotten as one of their most talented members ; by my friends in Ludlow no less, as one who did honour to their choice of a representative in parliament. And among this list of Shropshire worthies, I must not omit the name of another gentleman, one who is very extensively known both in England and abroad for his great diligence, his laborious, painstaking research, and one who has done much to promote the success of the present congress ; I mean the

author, amongst many other works, of the local legends of Shropshire, and what we should look upon as a still better title here, the author of the history of his native town, Mr. Thomas Wright. Dukes, Nightingale, Pidgeon, Blakeway, Owen, Corbett, and Anderson, are likewise, or were, friends round the Wrekin who have done much to infuse into us a love of our native antiquities. But, gentlemen, I must not trust myself to make the merest allusion to their labours, for you must know that I believe the one thing that my friends here have the greatest horror of is what we used to call at school not very logically "stale news." The oldest, most undecipherable manuscript will, if promising to be valuable, be eagerly, however laboriously, mastered; but once let any son of Caxton have handled it, henceforth as a *rechange* it becomes inadmissible into the proceedings of the Association. We have, I think, nevertheless, one Shropshire antiquary out of whose book any of my friends might be glad to take a leaf, notwithstanding their rule, for he accomplished what I am afraid is beyond the skill of the Archæological Association, the Society of Antiquaries, the Archæological Institute, the Camden, the Cambrian, or all of them together: for in the reign of Edward IV at Vennington, near Alderbury, in Shropshire, was born one who was still living in the reign of Charles I, and who in a book published at that period, which I shall be happy to show you at Downton, is described as "The old, old, very old man, Thomas Parr." I do not know how many hundreds of years in all he is supposed to have lived, but we of Ludlow to-day shall be sufficiently hospitable to our visitors if we express the hope that any two of them may attain his age, and perhaps the survivor will then come again to Ludlow in the twentieth century, to tell our great grandchildren what an archæological meeting was like in 1867. Of the antiquities of the county then, for the reasons I have given, I say nothing—nothing of all these Druidical remains, those British earthworks, those Roman camps and towns, Norman abbeys, or Plantagenet castles with which this border land is so thickly studded. Still I hope that my antiquarian friends will excuse me if for a moment I am not able entirely to repress the gratification of reminding my neighbours in their native town how many old associations—how much of interest lies at their feet, without even stirring from her walls, and where they may most readily get information. Would you learn all that has been gleaned of the early history of *Ludlowe* (the people's hill), and of the sorry time her inhabitants must have had as Briton, Saxon, Norman, or Dane got the mastery, consult Mr. Wright's most interesting volumes on the history of this place. Of the Norman originators of your castle you will find abundant information in that pleasant paper which was read by my friend Mr. Planché, at Shrewsbury, on the Norman Earls of Montgomery. Mr. Wright, Mr. Hartshorne, Mr. Eyton, and others have related most graphically the subsequent fends in

which your castle was engaged—how Joce de Dinan and Walter de Lacy, the great Earls of Mortimer and Fitzwarine, were alternately its Lords, or, in those troublous times, the occupants of its lowest dungeons. Throughout the wars of King Stephen, the subsequent rebellion of the Barons, when Ludlow was taken by De Montfort, all through the sanguinary contests of the fifteenth century, these old walls bore their full share, and their inhabitants became zealous adherents of the white rose of York. Here probably were planned their great victories of Mortimer's Cross, Towton, Barnet, and Tewkesbury; here again they rallied after their defeats of Ludford, Wakefield, and St. Albans. But not only as the grim stronghold of war does Ludlow Castle appeal to your interests, for after these turbulent times were passed, it became and continued for many years the chosen abode of royalty, and the court of the heirs apparent to the throne. Could these old walls speak, how many a story of the courtly revelry of the princes of York might they not unfold. In their long chequered career, how much of misery have they not witnessed? Saddest scene of all, perhaps, would have been that when just three hundred and sixty-five years ago a funeral *cortège* (symbolical at once of a parent's grief and the destruction of a nation's hope) left this town with the remains of Prince Arthur, for his last long home under Worcester Cathedral. Romance would probably fix her residence at Ludlow as the happiest period in the career of that Catherine of Arragon, whose mournful history we all know so well,—whose living widowhood and touching death at Kimbolton, novelist and dramatist have alike made familiar to us. But not even when you have made yourselves master of all that these old ruins have been in the court and the camp, will you have exhausted their interest; for another and a gentler tie, that of literature, again binds them to us, for here it was that the lofty intellect of Milton first gave notoriety to his masque of *Comus*; and here again, sheltered by the rugged walls of the old frontier fortress, Butler launched upon the world the humour and the satire of his *Hudibras*. Passing over the government of the good and wise Sir H. Sydney, we soon come to the *infamustus dies* when, stripped of its roof, the old border rallying place of more than six centuries was abandoned to decay, and soon became the ruin that we now see it. If we may venture to compare small things with great, we may almost say of it what the great Sir Edward Coke said of the House of Commons (then three hundred years younger than it now is) *si antiquitatem spectes est vetustissima, si dignitatem honoratissima, si jurisdictionem capacissima*. To gather something, however, from these antiquarian reminiscences, how careful ought not the thought of what manner of men those were who quietly viewed the destruction of Ludlow make us, if we should feel over inclined to pride ourselves upon the superior civilisation of these present, passing days. How anxious should

we be lest posterity should pass the same verdict upon us which we are compelled to give against our predecessors; for the days which saw the ruin of this fine old historic fortress were not those commonly called barbarous, but were days, on the contrary, that have been reckoned amongst the palmiest of our literary annals. Those were the days when Swift and when Congreve lashed with no sparing pens the more prominent of our national vices; days when the *Spectator* and the *Tatler* charmed our forefathers with the sparkling wit of Steele, or with the high moral excellence and the polished classical English of Addison; days when Bolingbroke, Pope, Rowe, Prior, Arbuthnot, and others like them, gave to the world a literature which is still amongst our most cherished possessions. Better than those days perhaps, without arrogance, we say that we may be, but better than these days, without doubt, we may say that posterity will be. But if our visitors will have to mix regret with the pleasure with which they will view our castle, no such mingled feelings need enter into their inspection of our church. Erected by the fourth Edward, perhaps, *more mediævorum*, to atone for the carnage of Towton, perhaps only to reward the borough which had served him so faithfully, and to which he gave its charter, its history does not materially differ from that of other churches;—a period of splendour, a partial eclipse, and happily in our case, as in many others, a perfect revival. Entranced as our visitors will be, as they cannot help being, with the work of the builders of old; something of commendation we trust they may have for the work of the restorers of to-day; for freely, ungrudgingly, and to the best of our ability, the task has been done; and we would fain hope that it will bring God's blessing upon it. We would fain re-echo the hope lately expressed in a published sermon of her youngest rector, that the large sum spent on the fabric of our church may be taken as an earnest that the work of the church will not be allowed to slumber within her walls. Much, however, as has been done, there is much more that might be done; and when the Rector of Ludlow mentioned to me a few days ago how glad he would be to see a new font in the church, I immediately felt like that individual in the story, who was so moved by the eloquence of a preacher of a charity sermon that he straightway plunged his hand into his neighbour's pocket and put everything he found there on the plate. I resolved, in short, that a subscription started by this Association would be a graceful return for much hospitality shown to them, and the object purchased would serve as a pleasant memento of their visit to Ludlow. I will only further add that I or any member of the local committee will gladly take charge of any such donation. The limited time at our disposal warns me that I must not even in imagination ask you to accompany me further, but I do not doubt that during the coming week you will be told what a fund of interest you have in

the foregoing and in many another object. Such, for instance, as the old town walls with one of their original gateways left; the sites of the establishments of the Black and White Friars; the estate of the Palmers' guild, now and long represented by your excellent Grammar School; the manor-house of Ludford, for centuries the home of the Charltons; those many quaint gabled timber town houses that speak so eloquently of the smaller trade and less exacting social requirements of the former inhabitants of your borough. So wisely have the Association chosen Ludlow for their temporary resting-place, that there is hardly a spot in it in which they can place themselves where they may not see some relic of the architecture of three or four centuries to help them to illustrate the history and tradition of three or four times their number. No less will this be the case in the excursions, as the programme will tell you that the *sapientissimi inter sapientes* have been already providing for your amusement, supplemented as the stores have been by those of our local friends, who are qualified to help them; and amongst the latter you will hear with much pleasure the names of Mrs. Stackhouse Acton, the Rev. J. W. Joyce, of Burford, the Rev. G. F. Townsend, of Leominster, and Mr. Cocking, of Ludlow. There only remains for me to acknowledge in my position as president the courtesies of those who propose to receive in their houses the Association, and who, although they may not be archæologists themselves, thus wish to acknowledge their appreciation of the benefits conferred by archæology. First of all, there is the Mayor and Corporation of this borough, who have been as forward on this occasion as on many previous ones to show that the practical no less than the theoretical duties of hospitality are fully recognised by them. At Burford the Association will be received by my kind friend, Lord Northwick, the hospitable successor of those bold barons of Burford, whose monuments are destined to give you no little pleasure, and whose descendants, under their better-known name of Cornwall, are still our neighbours. The best thanks of the Association are also due for the intended reception at Oakley Park, by the family, who have enjoyed the fair grounds of the old Priory of Bromfield since the Reformation brought the last of them to grief. And I have now to beg, in the name of this Society, that Lady Mary Clive will accept of these thanks, and whilst paying them, the Association will not forget that it was to a late owner of Oakley Park that the Roxburgh Club was originally indebted for supplying them with a reprint of many valuable official documents relating to Ludlow and the Marches of Wales. At Downton Castle the Association will be entertained by the descendant of two individuals whose names will be well-known to many of you, the late Mr. Richard Payne Knight and his equally distinguished brother, the late President of the Horticultural Society. Less of interest in that house will you see than otherwise would have been the

case, from the well-known bequest which placed many of its treasures in the British Museum. Some of the architectural part of our Society may not, perhaps, entirely sanction the soundness of Mr. Payne Knight's theory as to the practicability of a union of the beauties of Grecian and Gothic art; they cannot, however, but acknowledge the good taste shown in the modern alterations of his grand-nephew; and none of you, I think, be your tastes what they may, can see without pleasure the beauty which the cultivated scholar chose for the evening of his days; for as you stand on the castle terrace of Downton, with Shropshire's highest hills on your left, those of Radnorshire on your right, with the whole chace of Bringewood in front, and the fair valley of the Teme at your feet—familiar though you may be in your annual excursions with many of the most beautiful spots in English scenery, still I think, with that view before you, you will say with Marmion on Dun Edin, that

“Fairer scene you ne'er surveyed.”

And now, gentlemen, in conclusion, I have only to express to you the great pleasure it will give me personally to welcome you to that other Downton, that “Saxon enclosure on the hill,” now represented by the square fields, the trim hedges, and the red brick walls of my own unromantic home. Little, I am afraid, is there of an antiquarian nature to show you, for old families, like old stones, must not (if they are to preserve their moss uninjured) be moved from the spot where they were originally placed, and mine had their foundation in Warwickshire soil. Still, I have no reason to complain, in the transplantation of the genealogical tree, that either the climate, the soil, or (what all planters know is of consequence), its neighbours have not agreed with it most excellently. I can only say now, that if there are any of my Penates calculated to give you satisfaction, I can assure my archæological visitors that they are heartily welcome to inspect them; and whilst welcoming my friends in the Association, I do not for a moment forget that it will give me at least equal pleasure to welcome those still older friends in this town, who on this occasion, on account of their numbers, have had to be represented by the local committee—friends whom I at all times gratefully remember have never omitted any opportunity of showing their friendly regard to my ancestors, my family, and myself. With these few remarks I have now to announce the inauguration in Ludlow of the twenty-fourth Congress of the “British Archæological Association.”

A number of toasts followed, amongst which were the health of the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese, to which

The Rev. W. C. Sparrow responded. He explained the cause of the absence of the Rector (Rev. E. Clayton), who would, however, be present on Wednesday. As a body, the Clergy felt that they owed a great

deal to archæologists, for they could not doubt that they had directed the spirit of church restoration. But for the labours of archæologists he felt sure they would not have had the same enlightened restoration of their church fabrics as they had had of late years, and of which they had such a noble example in their own church. He regretted the absence of the Bishop, and especially the cause of such absence. It must, indeed, be a source of much sorrow that one holding so responsible a position should be incapacitated by bad health from discharging the functions of his high office.

Mr. G. R. Wright, F.S.A., gave the health of the Mayor and Corporation of Ludlow.

Mr. Southern (Deputy-Mayor) responded.

Mr. T. Wright, M.A., F.S.A., proposed the Borough Members.

Captain the Hon. G. H. W. Windsor Clive, as one of the members for the borough, expressed his gratification at the visit of Archæological Association. After alluding to the visit of the Sultan to this country of the "barbarians," and referring briefly to the objects of interest in the locality, he explained that Colonel Percy Herbert, being one of her Majesty's household, was unavoidably detained in London, or would have joined him in receiving the visit of so distinguished a body as the British Archæological Association.

Mr. Severne also briefly replied to the toast.

The health of "The County Members" being given,

Mr. Jasper More responded, and gave the health of "The Ladies," to which

Mr. G. R. Wright replied, and the party then broke up.

TUESDAY, 30TH JULY.

A special train having been provided by the President to convey the party to Bitterley, at ten o'clock more than a hundred of the members and their friends assembled on the platform of the Ludlow Station. Upon their arrival at Bitterley they were most courteously received by the Rector, the Rev. Charles Walcot, by whom they were conducted towards the church.

On entering the church-yard Mr. J. T. Irvine called the visitors' attention to a fine and very perfect specimen of a churchyard cross, the date of which he said was of the end of the fifteenth or commencement of the sixteenth century. At the top remained on one face a carving of the crucifixion, that on the other was much decayed. The Rev. C. Walcot said that within his memory a cross had existed on the top of the column; from additional information obtained from Mr. Price, of the Milcroft, it was described as about one foot in diameter, and having

the emblems of the Holy Spirit within a circle of clouds in the centre. This had been destroyed by the fall of the top, which lay half-buried in soil; and when the late Mr. J. H. Gwin was appointed master of the Grammar School in 1824, he obtained the sanction of the Rev. John Walcot, and had it refixed in its place. The beauty of the cross was greatly enhanced by the exceedingly picturesque character of the scenery which forms its background.

The shaft and base of a cross of about the same date remain in the churchyard of the neighbouring church of Caynham.

On entering the church some late but interesting monuments in the chancel were described by the Rev. C. Walcot, one of which, belonging to the family of Lord Lisburne, bears a remarkable Latin inscription. The other related to the Lacys, of Charlecot, so intimately connected with Shakespearian history.

The church generally presented many interesting points of observation. In very early times it, together with the property, belonged to Roger de Lacy, and was returned in *Domesday Book* as being worth 40s. A tolerably correct view of the exterior of the church is given in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1831.

Mr. Irvine pointed out a good specimen of a church chest having ornamental iron bands, of a date coincident with the end of the reign of Edward I, or beginning of Edward II. It now contains the parish registers. There was also a very curious slab in the pavement close to south wall of the chancel, seemingly of decorated date, the ornament of which is produced by sinking out the surface of the stone, and filling up with a hard irony red cement. It had stood the wear very well. He called attention to two beams of the rood loft, between which remained portions of the open tracery, the design had been of an unusual character. The clerk's desk appeared to have been partly constructed out of it.

Proceeding into the nave, attention was drawn to the richly carved oak pulpit, of about the commencement of A.D. 1600; and also to the very beautiful Norman font of a tub shape, ornamented with an areading round its lower part, and a sort of frilling round the edge. At the west end the late Early English arch of three orders into the tower had a fine carved corbel on south side.

Before leaving the church, Mr. Irvine strongly urged that when the roofs were restored the present timbers should be retained, and suggested that where found defective they would only require to be spliced.

In the village a good sample of a plain brick house, called the "Old Park," remains; and also a richly-moulded ceiling of late perpendicular date, in the cellars of a house having a stone tablet in front, bearing the inscription that it was—"Erected by Thomas Hopton, Esq., and Margaret, his wyfe, daughter to Adam Lutley, Esquire. Ano: Dni 1602." The ceiling, of course, must have belonged to a prior structure.



After leaving the church the party proceeded to Bitterley Court, the residence of the rector, the Rev. Chas. Walcot, M.A., who had kindly laid out the following most interesting family relics and ornaments for their inspection :—

1. Half of the cloak worn by Charles I on the scaffold, which came into the possession of Mr. William Walcot, who was page to the king's student in the Middle Temple; he was the third son of Humphrey Walcott, of Walcott. 2. A rich piece of silk brocade, used in the Walcot family as a christening robe from the sixteenth century. 3. The first English regimental flag that ever crossed the line, under General Adlercrain.

Curious Papers.—1. Warrant to Humphrey Walcott in 1642, with the signature of Charles I, to raise £5,000 for the royal cause. 2. A letter dated in 1643, signed by Charles I, demanding a loan of £150 from Humphrey Walcott. 3. Warrant, dated in 1643, to indemnify Humphrey Walcott, signed by Lord Lindsay. 4. Letter from Lord Arthur Capel, 1643. 5. Leave on parole to John Walcot, from Sir Thomas Middleton, whose prisoner he then was at Red Castle; also receipt from Sir Thos. Middleton of £50 for his ransom, 1645. 6. Discharge of the sequestration against Humphrey Walcott by the Parliamentary Commissioners assembled at Goldsmiths' Hall, 1649. 7. Letter from Lord Jeffries to John Walcott, with the answer of the latter. 8. A silver case containing silver counters representing the greater part of the English Sovereigns from Edward the Confessor down to James I; also Lord Darnley, Anne of Denmark, Frederick king of Bohemia, and his son Charles Lewis. These counters are presumed to have been executed by Simon Pass, under royal licence. 9. A letter from Lord Herbert of Cherbury on the projected invasion of this country by the Pretender in 1744. The writer of the letter was Henry Arthur Herbert, created Lord Herbert of Cherbury on Dec. 21, 1743, and advanced to the Earldom of Powis in 1748. It has no address. This letter, although of a comparative recent date, is of interest, from its historical associations, and runs as follows :—

“DEAR DICK,—The enclosed was sent to me by order of the Privy Council, of your receipt of it I desire you will give immediate notice to y^r Justices of the county of Salop, that they may meet at Shrewsbury as soon as conveniently may be, and concert proper measures for pursuing the contents and intention of it from time to time, as they shall judge the circumstances of affairs shall require. It is to be hoped that some even of those who wish well to the Pretender, will distinguish y^t y^e invasion now undertaken by the French ministry is not a measure taken to support him, but that he is made use of in aid of their design to reduce Great Britain, whose councils, arms, and money have drove y^m out of Germany to be a province to France. Several of the Roman

Catholicks have already consider'd it in this light (I mean some of the first rank) and have attended the Duke of Newcastle to desire his grace will assure his Majesty of their duty and attachment, so sensible are they, (were the French schemes to succeed) that they would suffer by exchanging our Laws and Constitution for an arbitrary French Government, and that His being placed at the Head of it as Viceroy to the King of France would be all the advantage he could obtain at all events. In the year 1715 and 1723 letters of the same kind were despatched to the several counties of England and Wales, and particularly in 1723, when we were actually threatened with the like attempt by France. This must certainly be remembered by many Gentⁿ in y^e present commission of the Peace, and will be an instruction for Precedent for y^m in the case before us. The Catholicks and others described by the enclosed paper, who live quietly at home and behave well, should not be molested. But pray desire my friends to use their utmost care and vigilance on this occasion, and as to such, whom there are grounds to suspect, everything should be done as can be done for the Service and Security of the Government. The embarkation is continued at Dunkirk and the French fleet is returned into the Channel, and it is now discovered y^e Count de Saxe, who commands the French forces in this expedition, was in London privately about six weeks agoe; on the other hand, Sir John Norris is in the Downs, with a good Fleet waiting for a favourable wind to oppose the embarkation, with one part of it, and to attack the French Squadron with the other. The Dutch forces are expected to embark for Holland to-morrow, and orders are sent for six thousand of English forces from Ostend, etc.—to come away as soon as possible.

“As I have not time to write any more, I desire you will communicate the contents of this to my friends.

“I am yo^r etc.,

“HERBERT.

“Lord Barrimore is still under examination. There are many letters in town, and the accounts are believed, y^t Admiral Mathews after an engagement that lasted three days had over the French and Spanish Squadrons obtained a compleat victory, an Express from him is hourly expected.”

After a cordial vote of thanks had been given to Mr. Walcot for his kindness and courtesy, the party left the Rectory and retraced their steps to the station *en route* for the Titterstone Clee Hill. Here such of the ladies as chose were placed in the railway trucks used for the transport of the stone quarried in the Clee Hill Works, and were drawn up a steep incline by the engine stationed at the top, while the rest of the party walked up the incline to the southern extremity of the Hoar Edge, where very extensive quarries in the “Dhu stone” (locally pronounced

“Jew stone”) rock, a species of basalt, have lately been opened, the name “Dhu” having been probably given to the stone from its dark grey appearance, “Dhu” in the Gaelic signifying “black.” Upon the arrival of the party at the stone works they found that the cottages of the quarriers and labourers had assumed quite a gala appearance. At several points along the incline triumphal arches, flags, and mottos had been arranged by the workpeople employed at the quarries; while, as the trucks passed beneath one of the permanent bridges over the incline, a party of women and children assembled and scattered down flowers to the ladies in the vans, the whole of these ornamentations having been prepared at the sole expense as well as by the sole labour of the workmen.

The stone-quarries and stone-crushing machines were then examined; and the latter, although hardly to be included under the title of antiquities, called forth some discussion, and elicited a good deal of praise. After a long stroll across Clee Hill, the party arrived at the foot of Titterstone, the highest point of which stands some 1700 feet above the level of the sea. The climb to the top was somewhat difficult, owing partly to the steepness, and partly to the almost velvety smoothness of the grass. On arriving at the summit the pedestrians were joined by a few equestrians and some other friends on foot, who had arrived by a different route. The day was, on the whole, well-suited for “a view,” and the beautiful panorama which lay extended for miles around was seen to good advantage. The President, who officiated as guide, pointed out the Brydden Hills, Shelton, Caradoc, Longmynd, Sibdon, Bringewood, Downton Hall and Castle, the Brecon Beacon, the Sugar Loaf, the Wrekin, and various other points in the landscape; and also stated that, with an horizon altogether undimmed by haze, the smoke of Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Dudley, and most of the “Black Country” was visible. Mr. Thomas Wright made some observations in reference to the supposed fortifications on the hill, stating that, in his opinion, if any earthworks existed, of which he was doubtful, it was more probable that they had been places of interment than places of defence. What could be the use of a fortification at that elevation, he could not imagine. Indeed, he thought such a thing most improbable, for a body of men up there would soon be starved into surrender by any opposing body at the base of the hill. The Rev. J. W. Joyce also made a few remarks upon Abberley Hill, saying that there was a tradition as to its having been the place where, in A.D. 601, the seven British bishops met St. Augustine; and the Giant’s chair having been inspected, some, even of the ladies, being adventurous enough to climb into it, the party descended. During the first portion of their descent many became entangled among pieces of dislocated rock which covered some portion of the hill-side, and the climbing through them was the

cause of a good deal of amusement. At the station the train was re-entered, and a start made for Middleton.

At this place the Association left the train and entered carriages which were waiting to take them to Downton Hall. Passing through the village, they made a short halt to inspect its chapel—one of the small rude Norman buildings of which this neighbourhood contains so many examples. It has recently been restored at the cost of the President (with the exception of a small grant from the Diocesan Church Building Society). In explaining its chief features, Mr. Irvine drew attention to the careful way in which every old feature had been preserved by the architect, Mr. Pountney Smith, of Shrewsbury: the President also assured the Association that in all essential features the building must now present its original aspect, and that in the new work of the west, and partially in that at the east end, the exact shape of the old windows had been ascertained without difficulty, and was carefully copied. The side windows, with two exceptions, were entirely original, and in size and shape were but little larger than the small embrasures commonly made for defensive purposes in fortified buildings. The remains of a carved rood loft attracted attention: this has the figures 1582 rudely carved on it, the date probably when it assumed its present shape.

The attention of the members was also directed to the carved wooden altar table of Elizabethan character, with its table cover having the initial letters J. C. worked upon it, and the date 1626; but no explanation of the letters could be given.

Middleton is a district chapelry to the mother church of Bitterley, and the manor belonged to the family of Shephard, who appear to have lived there for several generations previous to the marriage of the last heiress with an ancestor of the present owner of Downton Hall in 1721, when the properties were united, and the latter place became the family residence. A picturesque half-timbered gable of the Middleton manor-house (with its moat entire) was seen through the trees, but, as it presented no other features of interest, time was not taken up by visiting it.

Burials do not appear to have ever taken place at Middleton. In the churchyard are two mounds on which are standing two very old yew trees.

Bitterley register, which commences in 1658, contains numerous entries of the family of Shephard from that year to the death of the last survivor in 1808, and the following extract from it will show the close connection which existed between the two parishes:—

“Wee whose names are underwritten doe acknowledge that ye free that was givenn ye yeare 1695 towards ye repair of Middleton bridge in the parish of Bitterley, as his voluntary and free gift of St Thomas

Powys, lord of ye said manor, and not anyways chargeable more upon his estate than any other of ye in'hitants of ye townshipp of Middleton, and ye paveing of ye chappell of Middleton aforesaid, and ye rayles of ye pullpitt and reading seat was his free guift in p'ticular in ye yeare 1697. Witness our hands,

“WILLIAM SMITH, *Rector*,
 “RICH^d. SHEPPARD, }
 “RICH^d. SMITH, } *Churchwardens.*”

Other signatures follow.

The following notes from the pen of Mr. J. T. Irvine will further elucidate the most interesting features of the chapel, both from an archæological and modern point of view :—

“Entering through a handsome wood porch, the members observed with great gratification that the interior had been restored like the whole building in a most conservative and careful spirit. The plan is simply a nave and chancel. In front of the chancel arch is the finest and most perfect rood loft remaining in the neighbourhood of Ludlow of rich perpendicular work.

“The Norman chancel has the unusual feature of a square-headed door in the north wall, and some doubts were expressed as to whether it might not belong to a Saxon church. In this same wall, and also in the east wall, were Norman lights, but the south side presented the very unusual feature of a Norman window, about one-third of the distance from the east wall, which, although round-headed on the inside, was, and always had been, square on the outer face.

Mr. Irvine considered that this had been made so to enable it to be used as a low side window, and have a shutter, and he described it as one of the most remarkable instances of the sort he had seen. In the nave two small Norman windows yet remained, one on each side, but several windows, round-headed, but longer in their proportions, and of an Early English character in the section of their jamb mouldings, said to have existed prior to the restoration, seemed to evidence the fact that some considerable works had been executed during the first pointed period. Mr. Irvine added further, that “the restoration, executed at the expense of their President, showed what the true restoration of an old church should be when carried out in the spirit with which these revered sanctuaries of our religion, these evidences of our history, the homes of our holiest associations should be regarded—buildings at once the resting-places of our forefathers, and the nurturing grounds, so to speak, of our own highest and happiest aspirations.”

On leaving the chapel the party again entered the carriages, and were driven to Downton Hall, the seat of the President, who had invited them to luncheon. This beautiful mansion is most picturesquely situated in one of the most lovely spots in the county. It is approached

from the public road by a drive of about two miles in length through a sloping wood, chiefly of thriving oak. The drive is laid out with consummate engineering skill, and rises from the bottom to the gardens of Downton Hall. The gradients are accurately arranged, and, with the distances, are all marked as on a railway. Glimpses of the surrounding scenery are caught here and there through the wood, and the view from the gardens of the hall is most enchanting. The hall itself stands on a very elevated situation on the slope of a hill facing south-west, and being nearly five hundred feet above the town of Ludlow, the views are very extensive. From the terrace in front of the house, the Brown and Titterstone Clec hills, the Malvern, Dinmore Hill in Herefordshire, and the British (?) camp of Caynham are prominent objects ; while for many miles the valley of the Teme is spread like a map before the spectator. The house was modernised by the great grandfather of the present owner, Sir Charles R. Boughton, about one hundred and thirty years ago, in the style prevalent at that time. It presents no features of architectural interest, but the great thickness of the walls and beams in the older portions show that the manor house, as then altered, must have been of considerable age. Here the Association was most kindly received by the President and Lady Boughton ; and amongst the contents of the house, which were displayed for the inspection of the members, were a large collection of Oriental MSS., cameos, gems and antiques from the collection of the late Mr. Payne Knight, and family portraits by Sir Joshua Reynolds, Sir Thomas Lawrence, Hudson, and other painters of note, representing the heads of the family for eight generations back up to the present time.

A collection of miniatures, including some by Cowper, Engleheart, Andreas Mussard, Ferriere (exhibited at South Kensington), various Turkish and other eastern ornaments. Fine specimens of Chinese inlaying in ivory, and Indian filagree work ; a considerable quantity of Sèvres, Chelsea, Dresden, Worcester and Oriental china, old Wedgwood, English, foreign and eastern coins, and a curious damask tablecloth made at Cracow between 1697 and 1701, and having the following inscriptions frequently interwoven in the fabric, *Die stat Crakan*, and *Gros mächtiger König in Polen, Friedrich August* [I] with the initials of a former owner, E. C. 1701, worked with a needle in one of the corners, were exhibited, and much admired.

After the party had fully inspected all the various artistic and natural beauties of the mansion and its grounds, they were conducted to a large marquee which had been erected in a field adjoining the hall, and was handsomely decorated for the occasion. Here the party was most sumptuously entertained by Sir Charles and Lady Boughton, and after the ordinary loyal toasts had been drunk, the health of the

President and Lady Boughton was proposed by Mr. Gordon M. Hill's, and the hearty thanks of the Association tendered to them for the great kindness and hospitality which had been shown to the Association. To this Sir Charles replied in an able and humorous speech, and after a few more toasts had been drunk and the members had enjoyed a parting stroll through the lovely grounds, they started for Ludlow thoroughly gratified with their day's excursion, and with the kindness of the President, who had so materially assisted them both on this and several previous occasions.

The evening meeting was held in the Assembly Rooms, the chair being taken by F. R. Southern, Esq., the ex-mayor, who, after a few introductory observations, called upon R. Kyrke Penson, Esq., for his paper on the church of St. Lawrence, Ludlow," which will be found in *extenso* at pp. 57-60, *ante*.

After a short discussion and a vote of thanks to Mr. Penson, Mr. Thomas Wright read a paper upon "Early Churchwardens' accounts of Ludlow," which was printed in the last volume of the *Journal* (pp. 309-326). A conversation upon the paper ensued, in the course of which Mr. Wright made some interesting observations upon the derivation and use of the word "pew," which will be found embodied in his paper (*Journal*, vol. xxiii, pp. 316-326), and after a vote of thanks to Mr. Wright and the Chairman, and the usual announcements of the proceedings for the ensuing day, the meeting broke up.

WEDNESDAY, 31ST JULY.

At 11 A.M. a large muster of the members of the Association and of the inhabitants of the town and neighbourhood took place at the Castle to listen to the remarks of Mr. Thomas Wright, who had undertaken to give a brief sketch of the history of the building, and to act as guide round it. He accordingly took up a position on a circular wooden bench surrounding a tree on the green within the castle walls, and a circle having been formed round him, he said "he thought it would be more convenient, both to himself and his audience, if he should make his very few observations upon the building before they entered it, and then they could, as they walked round it, indulge in their own reflections, and draw their own conclusions as to its various parts. It would not be necessary for him to enter into details, as so much had been published in reference to the subject, both in his own *History of Ludlow* and in the works of other writers, that any of his hearers could easily read it up for themselves. It might, however, be useful upon the present occasion to sum up a few facts relating to it. It had, no doubt, been first built during the time of William the Conqueror. At the time *Domesday Book* was written there was certainly no castle there.

The land then belonged to a Richard Fitzpane, of Richard's Castle. It then came into the possession of one Sir Walter de Lacy, who was a powerful baron, even in this neighbourhood. Next it came into the possession of Roger de Lacy, who built the castle. He was of opinion that the oldest portions were the keep-tower, and the portions immediately adjoining. The castle afterwards went by forfeiture to the crown. In the reign of Stephen it extended, he believed, over the same ground as it did at present. He did not believe the castle was built by Sir Roger de Montgomery, as some supposed; for he could see no reason why he should have built it, since even the land on which the castle stood did not belong to him. He would not, however, detain them any longer, but would at once conduct them round the building, and explain to them to the best of his power anything they might wish to know respecting it."

The inspection of the castle being concluded, the party proceeded to the church, where Mr. R. Kyrke Penson was to have explained the principal objects in the building, but in his unavoidable absence Mr. Gordon Hills gave a very elaborate description of it, which was supplemented by Mr. Roberts.

An adjournment was then made to the Assembly Rooms, where the visitors and a large number of friends had been invited to a splendid luncheon given by the Mayor and Corporation, the chair, in the absence of the Mayor, being taken by his deputy, Mr. F. R. Suthern.

The cloth having been withdrawn, the Chairman proposed the Queen. He thought that in point of loyalty, and also in their anxiety to give a hearty reception to the Association, the people of Ludlow would bear comparison with any town of the kingdom, and he trusted their visitors would leave the town with an impression that the Corporation had done its duty.

Sir C. Boughton proposed "the Mayor and Corporation," and expressed to them the thanks of the Association for the magnificent entertainment they had provided.

The Chairman said, as the representative of the Mayor and Corporation, he had to thank them for the compliment they had paid them. They had done all they could to make the visit of the Association to Ludlow as pleasant as possible, and if they had succeeded in contributing to their comfort, he was sure every member of the Corporation would rejoice.

Captain Severne, M.P., briefly proposed "The Ladies," to which Mr. Jasper More, M.P., responded.

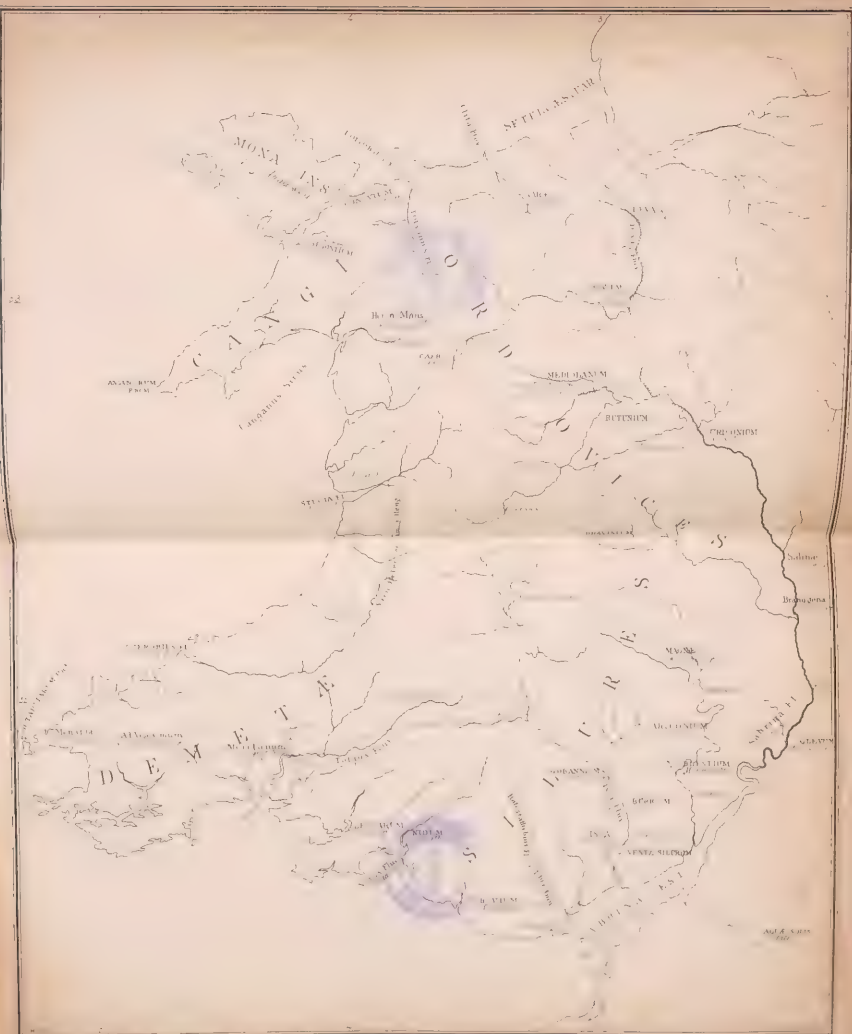
After luncheon the party proceeded to Ludford House, which was kindly thrown open by Major Ogle for the inspection of the visitors. Here was exhibited what was termed "King James's dining-table," the tree of which it was made having been cut in Ludford Park. At one

end of the table is a chair of oak very curiously carved. Mr. Hills explained that the table was one on which King James dined at Ludford House, and the chair was supposed to have been that on which he sat on the occasion. Among the other objects were a pair of bellows supposed to be of the reign of James I, a variety of old books, pictures, and other curiosities. Mr. Hills, in the course of some remarks upon the house, said that it had passed through many different hands, and consequently had been much altered to suit the taste or convenience of the various occupiers. It was, in his opinion, built in the reign of James or Charles I.

After a vote of thanks to Major Ogle, the party proceeded to the church. Among the objects which were inspected in the interior was a monument of stone, inlaid with brass, to the memory of William Fox, of Ludlow, who died 1554, and who built the aisle of the church adjoining the tomb. Several ancient tombs to the Charlton family were also examined. One of these, which has only lately been discovered, was said to be of the eleventh century. An alms box, bearing date 1612, was also exhibited. The party then drove to Whitton Court, formerly the property of the late Mr. Botfield. The first portion of the building visited was the tapestry room. The ceiling is of plaster, with oak wainscoat, the walls being covered with six fine pieces of tapestry, apparently of Flemish manufacture. In the hall, now used as a kitchen, some curious carved arches and panelling were shown, and in the other rooms of the house, three or four specimens of antique furniture, one of the chairs bearing date 1526. The premises were shown by the Rev. C. Whitefoord, and after a vote of thanks to that gentleman, the party left for Mr. Hall's, of Ashford Court, where refreshments were provided, and a number of antiquities in the shape of books, coins, and other curiosities exhibited. Among the books was one of the first editions of Spenser's *Faery Queen*, bearing date 1590, and dedicated to "the most high and mighty Empress, Elizabeth." The party then returned to Ludlow.

At 8.30 the evening meeting took place at the Assembly Rooms, the Rev. Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley, Bart., in the chair, and the following papers were read: "On the Barony of Burford," by Edward Levien, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.; "On Stokesay Castle," by the Rev. J. D. Latouche, M.A. After a short conversation upon the papers, and a vote of thanks to their authors, and to the Chairman, the proceedings for the next day were announced by Mr. George R. Wright, and the meeting broke up.





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THE ROMAN ITINERA CONNECTED WITH THE PRINCIPALITY OF WALES, AND THE TRACES OF ROMAN ROADS STILL REMAINING THERE.

BY THE REV. PREB. SCARTH, M.A.

THE *itineræ* relating to Roman roads in Wales (*Britannia Secunda*) are five in number,—the 11th, part of the 2nd, part of the 12th, part of the 13th, and a small part of the 14th. These alone are placed on Horsley's map in the *Britan. Rom.*, which accompanies his essay on the Itinerary of Antonine.

“*Iter* XI.—A Segontio Devam M. P. LXXXIII” (from Caernarvon to Chester). “Conovio (Caerhun) M. P. XXIV.” “Varis or Varæ (on the bank of the Clwydd, near Bodfari) M. P. XIX. Deva (Chester) XXXII.”

This *iter*, commencing at Segontium, near Caernarvon, proceeds through Conovium (Caerhun) and through Varæ (Bodfari) to Deva (Chester), and continues its course by Condate (Northwich) through Cambodunum (near Greatland) and Calcaria (Tadcaster) to Eburacum (York); but with the latter part of this *iter* we are not concerned.

Segontium has its name from the river Seiont or Seint, which issues out of the lake Llyn Peris. Camden speaks of the remains of Segontium near a small church built in honour of Publicius. See also Pennant's *Tour*, who says about a quarter of a mile from the Menai is the ancient town of Segontium. It forms an oblong of about six acres, placed on the summit of a rising ground, sloping down on every

side. It is now divided by a public road. A gold coin was found here,—T. DIVI. AVG. FIL. AVGVSTVS.¹

Conovium had its name from the river also, and is represented by Caer Hên, *i.e.*, “old city,” out of the ruins of which Edward I built Aberconway, at the mouth of the river. A Roman hypocaust has been found here.

The course of this Roman road has been traced also from Caernarvon over the Menai Strait, and across the Isle of Anglesea, to Holyhead (see *Archæol. Cambrensis*, vol. vi, 3rd Series, p. 186). In some places it appears very perfect. It probably crossed into Holyhead Island at Pont Trepontor, and there are indications of it within the island.

Another line of Roman road is supposed to have crossed the Isle of Anglesea from Beaumaris (Bryn Brython) to Holyhead.

Iter II.—The portion of the 2nd *iter* with which we are concerned, begins at Chester, and is thus given in the *iter*: “DEVA. LEG. XX. VICT., M. P. XX; BONIO (Banchor), X; MEDIO-LANO, at the confluence of the Tanad and Vyrnw, XX. (this is called North Watling-street): RVTVNIO (Rowton), M. P. XII; VRIOCOONIO (Wroxeter), XI.” (South Watling-street). It then passes on to VXACONA (Redhill, near Okengate), M. P. XI; PEN-NOCRVCIO (on the Penk), M. P. XII; through *Wall* to *Manchester*, and so by *Towcester*, Fenny Stratford, Dunstable, St. Albans, and Brockley Hill, to London, and meets the English Channel at Richborough; but further than Wroxeter we have at present no concern with it.

The stations which relate to the Principality are pretty accurately ascertained. Camden settles *Bonium* at Banchor on the Dee; and this view is confirmed by Leman, who, in a note to his copy of the edition of the Itinerary of Antoninus by Reynolds² (Cambridge, 1799), says “the reason for preferring Banchor is because there is a Roman road going from Chester to Wroxeter, which passes through it.” Leman had paid much attention to tracing Roman roads. At Queen Hope a Roman hypocaust was discovered in Camden’s time, and some tiles were found with the inscription, LEG. XX.

¹ In the *Cambrian Quarterly Mag.*, vol. i, p. 116, is an account of a remarkable Gnostic chain of gold, on which were described four Hebrew words in Greek characters, together with astral and magical signs. This relic was found at Llanbeblig near Carnarvon, the ancient Roman military station of Segontium. (See *Journal of Archæol. Assoc.*, Sept. 1867.)

² See Reynolds’s *Itin. of Anton.*, p. 201.

Mediolanum is fixed by Camden at *Whitchurch*, Salop; by Bishop Gibson at *Meiriod*; but Leman says it is *Clawd Coch*, near Llanymynech, at the confluence of the Vyrnwy with the Tanad, twenty miles distance from Banchor.

Rutunium (Rowton), near Wem, and not far from Hawkstone Park, on the banks of the river Rodan. Roman bricks and coins have been found here.

Iter XII.—The next *iter* is the twelfth, which, though it is entitled “a Calleva Muridunum Virioconium, M. P. CLXXXVI” (or from Silchester to Seaton, at the mouth of the Axe, and to Wroxeter), it will be well to reverse, and begin at the end, making Uriconium our starting-point. We shall thus be carried round the east border of the Principality. The stations are as follow: VRIOCONIO (Wroxeter), M. P. XXVII; BRAVINIO (Brandon, near Leintwardine), M. P. XXIV; MAGNIS (Kenchester), M. P. XXII; GOBANNIO (Abergavenny), M. P. XII; BVRRIO (near Usk), M. P. IX; ISCA LEGVA AVGVSTA (Caerleon), M. P. XV; NIDO (near Neath), M. P. XV; BOMIO (in Ewenny Park), M. P. XV. These two stations of Bomio and Nido are misplaced, and ought to be reversed. LEVCARO (Lloghor).

The latter part of this *iter* is given according to the route laid down by Mr. Leman, chancellor of Cloyne, in his manuscript notes to Horsley’s *B. R.*, in the library of the Literary and Scientific Institution, Bath. He supposes it to have commenced (or, as I now read it, backward,—to have terminated) at this point, and certainly not without reason, as the road would otherwise be very circuitous. I will give his reasons from a manuscript note in his copy of Horsley’s *B. R.*, which he bequeathed by will to the Bath Literary and Scientific Institution. Mr. Leman says: “The 12th *iter* is certainly composed of *two iters* joined together by mistake, arising probably from the copyist, who, seeing Isca at the end of the *iter*, close to a place of the same appellation at the beginning of the following one, inserted only the first, and then went on with the stations belonging to the second. Hence has arisen the confusion in endeavouring to join altogether places such as Isca Dumnoniorum, which we know to be *Exeter*, and Leucarum, which was most certainly in South Wales. The 12th *iter* ought, therefore, to end with Isca Dumnoniorum.” Horsley brings this road from Caerleon to Caerwent, and then takes it across the Severn, or Bristol

Channel, to *Nidum*, which he places at Portbury, and from thence to *Bomium*, which he places at Axbridge; and to Leucarum, which he places at Glastonbury; thence to Isca Dumnoniorum, which he fixes at Chiselborough; thence to Muridunum, which he fixes at Eggerton; and so to Dorchester, and by Winchester, to Calleva (Silchester). With this portion of the *iter*, being out of the limit of the Principality, we have nothing to do. I can only say that I would rather accept the proposal of Mr. Leman and some earlier commentators, and divide the *iter* into *two*.

The portion with which we have any concern at present is that between Uriconium (Wroxeter) and Leucarum (Lloghor or Lwghor). Uriconium, or Uriconium, is so well ascertained that it needs no comment, and reference need only be made to Mr. Wright's papers in the *Journal* of the Archaeological Association, and to those of the writer of this paper in the *Journal* of the Archaeological Institute, and to the small *Guide to the Ruins of Uriconium*, by Mr. Wright (published by Sandford, High-street, Shrewsbury). The museum of Roman remains which has been collected in Shrewsbury in the course of the excavations at Wroxeter, is one of the richest and most instructive of the local museums of this island. It is only to be regretted that the excavations have not been carried on with greater spirit.

"*Bravinium*, a little east of the Teme, at Brandon, is a single square work with four ports, very commodiously situated for supply of water." (See Reynolds' *Itin. of Anton.*, p. 345; Green, *Hist. of Worcester*; Gen. Roy, *Military Antiquities*.)

Magnis (Kenchester), about four miles west of Hereford, where are still traces of the Roman city in the irregular wall which has surrounded it, fragments of which may be traced; but the foss is obliterated. Roman remains have been found here. (See Stukeley's *Itin. Cur.*, p. 60; Reynolds' *Anton.*, p. 343.)

Gobanniam (Abergavenny, Monmouthshire). Roman bricks with the stamp LEG. II AVG. have been found here, and a hypocaust; also a Gold coin, Roman. There is also a trace of the Roman road.

Burrium (Usk), at the confluence of the river Byrdin with the Usk. Roman coins have been found here, and also at a large camp a mile and a half north-west of the town.

Isca leg. ii. Aug. (Caerleon), the station of the second legion, from undoubted remains. (See Lee's *Isca Silurum*.) This legion was brought out of Germany in the time of Claudius, and placed under the command of Vespasian, and in the time of Julius Frontinus probably located at Caerleon. There is a very excellent museum of Roman antiquities here, and it contains the pavements which have been dug up. The amphitheatre is very perfect, and the circuit of the walls may be distinctly traced.

Bovium, or *Bomium*, has been placed at Boverton and at Llantwit; but the remains in Ewenny Park seem to have the best claim to be considered the site of the ancient station.

Nidum (Neath), which is at the proper distance from Bovium. It stands upon a river of the same name. Leman says, in a manuscript note, that "the Roman road from the Gaer, near Brecon, bears down to this road, and unites with it not far from this place."

Leucarum is fixed by Camden at *Lughor*, Glamorganshire; but Roman remains are wanting to confirm his opinion.

Maridunum, or *Muridunum* (Carmarthen), the capital of the Dimetæ, stands on the river Towey. The ancient city wall is said to be still traceable; and some Roman remains, coins, and pottery, have been found. A tessellated pavement was found at Abercover, two miles from Carmarthen, and a quantity of Roman coins of the lower empire.

Iter XIII.—The 13th *iter* is the last of which we have to treat at length. It is from *Caerleon* to *Silchester*,—"ab Isca Callevam, M. P. CIX" (corrected CXIX); BVRRIO (near Usk), M. P. IX; BLESTIO (Monmouth), XI; ARICONIO (Ross or Berry Hill), XI; GLEVO (Gloucester), M. P. XV. From thence it is continued through Cirencester and Speen to Silchester.

We may remark that, according to the *itinera*, both Uriconium (Wroxeter) and Calleva (Silchester) were important cities, being either the commencement or ending of some of the *itinera*. Thus Calleva begins or ends three *itinera*; Uriconium ends one, and is mentioned in another. The remains that have lately been uncovered at Wroxeter and Silchester bear testimony to their extent and opulence.

Mr. Reynolds observes that the general course of the present *iter* is sufficiently marked by its having in it three towns, the Roman antiquity of which has never been disputed, nor whether they are the towns intended by Anto-

ninus. These are Gloucester, Cirencester, and Speen; but the numbers are considerably deranged by transcribers.

Blestium (Monmouth). Roman coins have been found here.

Ariconium, fixed by Horsley at Ross, but somewhat doubtfully. Leman supposes it to be at Rose, or Berry Hill, in Norton-under-Penyard; and so does Mr. Wright in his *Wanderings of an Antiquary* (p. 1),—"Under the commanding heights of Penyard is traced the Roman city of Ariconium."

Glevum (Gloucester), where Roman remains have been found in and around the city, which still retains somewhat of its Roman form in the rectangular arrangement of its streets.

Horsley confines his map simply to the Roman roads noted in the Antonine Itinerary; but this gives a very imperfect idea of the Roman roads which have everywhere penetrated the Roman province of *Britannia Secunda*. Even the compilers of the *Monumenta Historica Britannica* have noted on their map (which is far from complete) an extensive line of Roman road called Sarn Helen, which has been traced along the western border of Wales, and embraces certain stations which will be named hereafter. But Sir R. C. Hoare is much more full in his map attached to the first volume of his *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and appears to have taken much pains, and bestowed much labour, in tracing the Roman roads in Wales. He would arrange them in the following order, and classifies them under these divisions: 1, Via Julia Maritima, or Inferior; 2, Via Julia Montana, or Superior; 3, Via Occidentalis; 4, Via Devana, or Media; 5, Via Orientalis; 6, Northern Watling-street; 7, Southern Watling-street.

1. Via Julia Maritima.—This road, which probably assumed its name from Julius Frontinus, the conqueror of the Silures, Richard of Cirencester has traced very minutely in his *iter* XI. "Ab Aquis per Viam Juliam Menapiam usque," *i.e.*, from Bath to St. David's; but as we cannot now admit the authority of Richard, we must refer to the Antonine Itinerary, where it is also given, but only follows a part of the same route. "*Iter* XIV.—Item alio itinere ab Isca Calevam M. P. CIII; VENTA SILVRVM (Caerwent), M. P. IX; ABONE (Bitten), IX; TRAIECTVS (Sea Mills), IX; AQVIS SOLIS (Bath), VI; VERLVCIONE (High Field near Sandy Lane) XV; CVNETIONE (Folly

Farm near Marlborough), XX; SPINIS (Speen), XV; CALLEVA (Silchester), XV."

The only stations that here relate to South Wales is Venta Silurum, where the *iter* begins, and the station at which it crossed the estuary of the Severn, which was probably Trajectus (and is misplaced in the Itinerary), near Sudbrook Camp, on the Welsh bank of the Severn, doubtless one of the points of departure. It has been strongly fortified; but for a statement of the reasons for and against this passage, I must refer to Ormerod's *Strigulensia*, where the subject is fully discussed.

Sir R. C. Hoare has placed reliance on Richard's *Itinera*, which, though a forgery, has doubtless followed some ancient map or other source of information now lost to us; and the discovery of Roman camps on the line of road from Caerwent to St. David's confirms the fact of a Roman road existing between the two places.¹ Sir Richard, in summing up his remarks on this line of road from the Trajectus to St. David's, observes,—“The exact site of the station, *ad Menapiam*, is not known, though it was probably in the neighbourhood of St. David's, but perhaps nearer to the sea than the present episcopal town. On a review of this long *iter* we find that the position of two only of the stations upon it are known for a certainty. These are *Isca* (Caerleon) and *Venta* (Caerwent).”

For a full account of the course of the Via Julia, or Julia Strata, with the Roman stations, forts, and camps, in its course through Monmouthshire, Brecknockshire, Caermarthen, and Glamorgan, see an article in the *Archæol.* (vol. ii, p. 1) by the Rev. W. Harris, Preb. of Llandaff; also further remarks in *Archæol.* (vol. vi, p. 6) by John Strange, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A., read Jan. 28, 1779.

The Via Julia Montana, or Superior, is thus treated by Hoare—

From Gloucester (Glevum) it passed by Ariconium (Ross), Blestium (Monmouth), Gobannium (Abergavenny), Brecknock, Treacastle, Llandovery, Llandilo, Muridunum (Caermarthen), where it joined the Via Julia Maritima, and continued along with it to Menapia, or St. David's. No *Iter* is, however, carried along this line, and no Roman remains are said to have been found at Monmouth or Abergavenny, but

¹ See Hoare's *Giraldus*, vol. i, cxlvi.

between the latter place and Brecknock¹ there is a Roman station in the parish of Cwm Dû, to the right of the turnpike road, and another at the Gaer beyond Brecknock, on the banks of the little river Ysgyr, where Roman bricks, inscribed in the LEG. II. AVG., testify to the 2nd legion on this spot. A part of the Roman causeway from Brecknock to the Gaer is still in a perfect state, says Sir Richard, and upon it has been placed an ancient stone with a male and female figure, which is probably sepulchral, but the inscription is defaced. This road continued along the valley by Rhyd-y-Briew Bridge, towards Trecastle, where it ascended the mountain, and proceeded to the station of Llanvair ar y Bryn, near Llandovery. A stone, supposed to be a milliary, bearing the inscription, IMPERATORI DOMINO NOSTRO MARCO CASSIANO LATINO POSTVMO PIO FELICI AVG., was found A.D. 1760, near a house called Heath-cock, on Trecastle Hill, which seems (as Sir Richard observes) to indicate the direction of the Roman road.

“At Llanvair ar y Bryn, or the Church of St. Mary on the hill, we have another undoubted Roman station; not only from the remains of earthworks, but from the bricks and pottery which are scattered about its precincts. Coins, antique lamps, and flue tiles, have been found, and the place is known among the peasantry as Tre-coch, or red castle, perhaps from the red bricks found there. The situation is that which the Romans generally selected for stations, a gentle eminence commanding three valleys, watered on the south-west by the Towy and north-east by the Braen. The Roman road probably continued from hence along the vale by Llandilo to *Muridunum* or Caermarthen.

At a place called Llwyn y Ffortun, or the Grove of Fortune, a pot of Roman coins was found, containing coins of Domitian, Probus, Aurelian, Constantine, Constantius, and Carausius. *Muridunum* is fixed at Caermarthen, though the exact site appears doubtful, and the precise course of the Roman road from thence to St. David's has not, I believe, been ascertained; it is said to be visible in the Vale of Whitland, and a Roman station, noted by Sir R. C. Hoare

¹ Between Neth and Brecknock the Roman causeway is entire, and on the Monmouthshire Hills near Bedwelty. It runs always in a *straight line*. The British ridgeway, which is visible on some of the Welsh mountains, is not so regular in its course.

as “ad Vogesimum,” and called “Castle Fleming,” exists midway between Caermarthen and St. David’s.

Of the third line of road, designated by Sir Richard “Via Occidentalis,” he thus speaks :—

“I have some reason to suppose that a Roman road led from the station *Ad Menapiam* (St. David’s) along the western coast of Wales to the city *Laventium* or *Laventinum*.” In the *Cambrian Register* (vol. ii, p. 43) there is an entry, “Sicut Via Flandrensica ducit per Summitatem Montis, etc.” This *Via Flandrensica* had most probably nothing to do with the Flemings, who, from being placed in Pembrokeshire, to which this road leads, have, most probably, got the credit of making the road. The Roman road from Calston Bottom, in Wilts, to Overton Hill, is now called the “*French Way*,” but why it is so called it is difficult to say.

In the parish of Llanio-isau, about seven miles from Llanpedar, and three from Tregaron are the remains of a Roman city, supposed to be *Lorentinum*, placed by Ptolemy, among the Demetæ. Inscriptions have been found here :—

VERION.—
▷ . ARTI. M. ENNIVS. PRIMVS. CO. II. A...G. F. V. P.

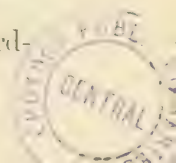
This city is situated on a gentle eminence, and in an open plain, on the north-west bank of the river Tivy, nearly opposite the deserted Church of Llandewi Brevi.

From hence the Roman road proceeded to the station on the Dovey, at *Penalt*, westward of Machynlleth, and traces of it are visible, particularly at Lledrod. This line of road from Luentinum is marked on the map of the *Mon. Hist. Brit.*

At Penalt, Roman bricks, pottery, etc., indicate the exact position of the station. Here the road enters North Wales and the *iter* continues to Heriri Mons, where is a station called in modern times Tommen y Môr, or the Tumulus on the Wall. The westerly direction of the road, says Sir R. C. Hoare, is not known, “but I am inclined to think it kept its course on the eastern side of the mountain (Cadair Idris), and went either to or near Dolgelly, where Roman coins have been found.

There are remains of the Roman road at a place called Pen y Street, on the road leading from Dolgelly to Trawsfynydd.

The station at Heriri Mons, called Tommen y Mur, accord-



ing to Sir R. C. Hoare, is 540 feet east and west by 400 feet north and south, and at the north-west corner is the tumulus, from whence it derives its name. The station was enclosed by a wall, in which a centurial inscription had been placed, and which is still preserved in the hall at Tan y Bwlch. An engraving is given in the *Archæologia*, vol. xiii. It is as follows: C ANDASI F P. XXXIX.

From the station of Heriri Mons the road went to Segontium, *Caernarvon*, passing through Maentwrog, a village in the Vale of Festiniog, where a centurial inscription has been found with the letters MARC... A Roman inscription is stated by Sir R. C. Hoare to have existed by the side of the Roman road as it traversed the mountain to Caernarvon, but this appears now to be destroyed. The road, which is thus traced from Luentinum, is known as the Sarn Helen, which may be a corruption of Sarn y Llung, or the Road of the Legion.¹

Another line of Roman road, not noticed in any of the Itinera, has been carefully examined and noted by Sir R. C. Hoare. He calls it the *Via Media*, or *Devana*. He traces it from Neath to Chester, whence the name he has given it. Like the route we have just examined, it is called Sarn Helen, but it is also called Sarn Swsan from the station of Caer Sws, which is upon the line of it. He says, "it is visible on a marsh near the town of Neath, from whence, having crossed a long and dreary tract of mountains, it descends into the beautiful Vale of Usk, and proceeds to the station of Gaer, on the banks of the river Ysgyr. No Roman road in Wales is so perfect as this, and its preservation for so many centuries may be attributed to the uncultivated and uninhabited district through which it passes." It would occupy too much time to mention each trace that remains.

¹ Mr. Owen Stanley, M.P., in an article on ancient interments in the *Archæo. Journal*, observes, "near Tomen y Mur, Caernarvonshire (the Roman Heriri Mons), on the side of the Sarn Helen, and about a mile from the station, was found an urn" (engraved in the *Arch. Journal*, No. 93, 1867). He says: "At the spot where the entrenchments are to be seen, and numerous Roman relics have been brought to light, the Roman road (ascribed to the Empress Helena, consort of the Emperor Maximus, in the fourth century) leading from Uriconium by Rutunium and among the wild mountains of Wales to Caer Seiont near Carnarvon, and thence into Anglesea, crosses at right angles the Roman line of way from Muridunum (Caermarthen), by Llanio and Penalt, in a straight course toward Conovium (Caer Rhun) on the Conway. To a considerable portion of this last mentioned way, the name of Sarn Helen is likewise given by popular tradition." See Map.

It touches a camp on the south-east side of the river Ython, at a farm called Cwm, which is called Castle Collen, or the Castle of Hazel Trees. The next station is *Caer Sws*, where there are undoubted Roman remains. The station is situated on the north bank of the Severn; the sides measure about 544 feet each way. Bricks inserted with the letters *c. i. c. f.* have been found here. From hence the Roman road went to *Mediolanum*, and is traceable on the summit of the mountain, and very visible at a place called *Bwlch Cae Hae*. The course has been laid down by the Rev. Walter Davies, and is recorded by Sir Richard (*G. C.*, vol. i, clviii). The road is called here *Sarn Swsog*, and is about five yards wide, the sides being formed of large stones, and the space between filled with broken stones and gravel; the middle is somewhat elevated. It must have crossed the great road leading from Shrewsbury to *Machynlleth*, near *Cefn Coch*. This road is most visible on the hills where the large side stones appear, and by thrusting down a stick through the thick grass and moss, the hard original is felt about a foot below the surface. The soil has accumulated so much by time that the plough does not go deep enough to reach the causeway."

The next station along the line of this road is *Mediolanum*, mentioned in the 2nd *iter*, and which is marked in the *Mon. Vetust. Brit.* map as *Clawdd Coch*, but the exact position of which seems doubtful. Yet, at this point, according to Sir R. C. Hoare, four Roman roads centered, viz., from *Vrioconium*, from *Segontium*, from *Deva*, and from *Caersws*.

From *Mediolanum* the road continued to (*Banchor*) *Bovium*, and from thence to *Deva* (Chester).¹

The line of road, called by Hoare "*Via Orientalis*," has already been touched upon in describing the 2nd *iter* of of Antonine, and the stations are correctly ascertained. The station *Deva*, Chester, where this *iter* terminates, is the boundary between the provinces *Britannia Secunda*, or Wales, and *Flavia Cæsariensis*.

The former province comprised the tribes of the *Silures*, *Dimetæ*, and *Ordovices*.

The latter, the *Cornavii*, the *Coritani*, the *Parisii*, and the *Brigantes*.

¹ There is a tradition among the natives, of a large city having stood in the Vale of Tanad.

Sir R. C. Hoare's "North Watling Street" corresponds to the 11th *iter* of Antonine already given. This may be termed a cross road, running east and west, as the others ran the whole length of Wales north and south.

The first station after Chester, VARIS, is supposed to be Bodfarri; the next, Conovium, has been fixed at *Caer Hén*, on the banks of the Conwy, where Roman bricks have been found inscribed LEG. XX. VV., and other Roman remains; from hence the road ascended the mountains, and, passing by Bwlch y ddyfaen, came to the sea coast at Aber, and thence probably followed the course of the Menai to *Segontium*. The point where the Romans crossed the Menai Strait is near Porthamel, between a place called Pwll y Fwch and Llanidan. The ford is just under Llanidan. The foot soldiers probably landed from flat-bottomed boats, near Pwll y Fwch, at a place called Pont yr yscraphie.

The Romans called the vessels *scaphæ*, and the Welsh *yscraphie*. (See Rowlands' *Mona Antiqua Restaurata*, p. 99).

There is a tumulus in one of the fields adjoining. The Roman garrison may have been at *Caer Idris*, on the top of Gwydryn Hill.

The line of Roman road, called by R. C. Hoare South Watling Street, forms the 11th *iter* of Richard, though no reliance is to be placed on this authority; yet the Roman road and stations exist, and have been traced along it. It begins with *Segontium* and ends with *Uriconium*, and part of it bears the name of *Sarn Hir*, or the long causeway.

It would be too long to treat of other lines of communication of the Roman period, which may still be traced, but sufficient has been said to show how completely the country was traversed by important lines of road, and how entirely subjugated to the Roman authority.

It must be left to Welsh antiquaries to say how far these points are accurately ascertained, which I can only verify from a partial examination of the country, made at long intervals, but I have generally found Sir R. C. Hoare careful and accurate in his statements. When we consider the length of time the Romans were occupied in subjecting the Silures, and the very important stations fixed at so many different points, we cannot but feel sure that their roads must have been many and well constructed, and so their re-

mains prove them to have been. But we must not only regard them as military roads. It seems that while the Romans had possession of Britain, considerable traffic was carried on with Ireland, though the Romans had not possession of that island. Professor Hübner, in a late review of the most curious and rare Roman inscriptions found in this island, read to the Royal Academy at Berlin, says that the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin possesses a very interesting collection of articles of Roman manufacture found in that country, which establishes the fact of a trading intercourse; or, to use the professor's own words, "is a speaking testimony in favour of the extensive sale of Roman manufactured articles among the barbarous natives of that island." It would be a subject of much interest to endeavour to trace out how far Roman influence had extended itself into Ireland, but this is foreign to my present object, which is rather to demonstrate how entirely it had fixed itself upon the Principality. That considerable wealth was drawn from the lead mines of Wales and Shropshire is certain from the Roman pigs of lead found on the coast of Cheshire,¹ and at Snailbeach, Westbury, Salop, and at Shelve, and some other places where the traces of Roman lead mining are visible. Wherever the Roman set his foot, he seems to have developed the resources of the country, and brought commerce and traffic in his train.

No notice of the itinera and of the Roman roads, of which vestiges remain in Wales, would be complete without the mention of the North Watling Street—that famous road which traversed our island from Richborough or Dover to Carnarvon, and passed from thence into Anglesea, and so communicated with Ireland. It has been supposed to have had its name "*Walling-street*," *Via Gwathelinga*,² or the Irishman's way, from the fact of communicating with Ireland. This was the explanation of the name given by Stukeley, and which has been followed by other English antiquaries.

"The Welsh call the Irishmen 'Gwyddel,' which in Anglo-Saxon might take the form *Wætel*, adding the termination

¹ See *Arch. Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 29, 32, 33, 34. Iron was also worked to a considerable extent. Large pigs of iron have lately been found on the site of a Roman villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire.

² See Hoare's *Giraldus Cambrensis*, vol. i, cxliii.

ing, we get the derivation Wætling and Wætlinga-stræt, which would be the street of the *Wætlings* or Irishmen."¹

But, as Dr. Guest observes, "There are several Watling-streets in Britain. One runs through Delamere Forest in Cheshire; another through the woodland districts of the West Riding, the Elmet Forest of Bede; a third through Northumberland and Roxburgh, towards Ettrick Forest; and, lastly, the Erming-street in the neighbourhood of Rockingham Forest has been called *Watling-street* by Leland and others. The term *Gweddel* appears to have been applied not only to the Irish, but to the *wild men* who lived in the weald, as contradistinguished from the husbandmen who cultivated the plain. The woodlands through which the Watling-street ran for some thirty or forty miles after leaving London were, during the middle ages, notorious for the banditti that infested them, and many other forest tracts were infested with outlaws;" and hence it may be, as Dr. Guest supposes, "that we find the name *Watling-street* in the neighbourhood of several forests."

I mention this explanation of the name to account for the many Roman roads which bear it, but certainly the *Irishman's way* best suits with the great line which led right through the island from Richborough to Carnarvon.

The earliest mention of *Watling-street* occurs in the treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, made about A.D. 879. Some charters of the tenth century mention Watling-street; one of them relates to an estate near Wroxeter; another in the neighbourhood of London; and the others to the counties of Bedford, Buckingham, and Northampton. "We may conclude, therefore," says Dr. Guest, "that, in the tenth century, the whole line of road from London to Wroxeter was known as *Watling-street*."

"The ancient road which runs from Wroxeter through South Wales probably received its name of Watling-street from the fact that the traveller from London to South Wales passed first along the real Watling-street, and then along the road to his destination." Whether this conjecture is satisfactory must be left to individual opinion; it certainly is ingenious, and not without probability. The name *Watling-street* being given to roads in Wales, has induced me

¹ See Dr. Guest's paper on the four Roman ways, *Arch. Journal*, vol. xiv, p. 113.

to touch upon its probable derivation, as well as its direction.

In treating of the Roman ways it will be necessary to say something of the method of measurement and the distances comprehended between the stations, and the relative length of the Roman and English mile. Unfortunately the text of the Roman *itineraria* appears very corrupt; and this has probably arisen through the errors of copyists, it being very easy to mistake a number. Horsley, in his essay on the *Itinerary of Antonine*, observes: "Were we sure of our military ways, and sure of our numbers, and did we certainly know what sort of miles were used in the *Itinerary*, it would then be an infallible guide to us. The *Itinerary* was written by a Roman, and most probably for the use of Roman officers, and with respect to Roman ways. The miles most probably are Roman."

"On a thorough and impartial trial I find that, through the most part of England wherever we are sure, the proportion of the mile of the *Itinerary* to the English computed mile is as three to four, *i.e.*, three computed miles to four of the *Itinerary*. Thus in Dr. Gale's edition of the *Itinerary*, fifteen English miles answer to twenty Roman. Near Wales, and in the western part of England, between the Severn and Chester, the proportion is as two to three; *i.e.*, two English to three of the *Itinerary*. The same in Scotland and in some cross-roads. For about twenty miles round London one is nearly equal to the other, or not above the difference of one or two in twenty. The same seems to hold good in Hampshire, of which Horsley gives examples." Mr. Lemon, Chancellor of Cloyne, who bestowed much attention on this subject, observes that nothing can be clearer than that the Roman miles were not always the same length, but differed from each other, like our computed ones, or like the leagues in France; for in measuring a space of ground where the country is perfectly level, the Roman mile differs but little from our present measured one; but they are infinitely longer than ours when the *iter* passes over a mountainous tract; and for which reason I cannot help thinking that they calculated the distances between the several stations by *horizontal miles*. Thus, on the road from Colchester to London, or from Richborough to the same place, where the surface is nearly level, the Roman miles do

not differ from our measured ones; while in mountainous countries, as between Manchester and Tadcaster, between Ribchester and Ilkley, between Corbridge and Reichester, or between Wroxeter and Caernarvon, it requires in some places a mile and a quarter, and in the last instance a mile and a half, to make our present miles coincide with the Roman."

What a truly valuable work it would be if the ancient roads of this island could all be accurately surveyed and planned, and the stations along them correctly ascertained! If what has been done in Yorkshire, Durham, and Northumberland, by the late Duke of Northumberland, and by Sir R. C. Hoare in Wilts and Somerset, could be carried out in all our counties! Surely after what has been accomplished in France by the present Emperor, it is not too much to expect that this might be effected in our own country. The effort would be too great for a single individual; but surely if our Government could not find money for such a work, one of our learned societies might take it up, or it might be divided amongst them. The Cambrian Society, for instance, might undertake Wales, and the Society of Antiquaries and the two remaining London Societies might well undertake the whole of England. After Sir R. C. Hoare has opened the way in Wales, and has also done so much in the south and west of England, can we suppose that to perfect the work would be impossible to the learned societies which I have named? To help forward such a work, and to shew that it might without difficulty be accomplished, has been the design of this imperfect outline, which has been drawn up amidst much pressure of daily labour, and with the drawback of not being on the spot; but having to trust to notes made in past visits, and to references, many of which could not be personally verified, and as such may claim the indulgence of critical readers.

¹ See M'Lauchlan's *Survey*.





Fig. 2

Snow Knife in the British Museum $\frac{1}{3}$ rd size

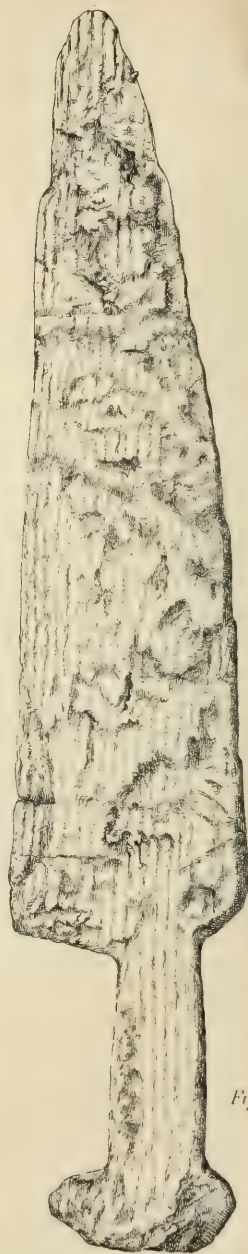
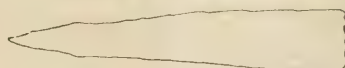


Fig. 1.

Extreme length 19 $\frac{1}{2}$ - Extreme breadth $\frac{3}{4}$



Section of blade half size, at widest part

ON AN ANCIENT BRITISH SNOW-KNIFE.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., VICE-PRESIDENT.

THE echoes of tradition and the teaching of the geologist are in strict accord in representing that at a certain epoch of the world's career there prevailed, over a wide extent of the globe, a temperature of intense cold. In that extraordinary composition by Snorri Sturlason, known as the *Prose* or *Younger Edda*, occurs an account of the origin of the *hrimthursar*, or frost-giants, and "the state of things ere the races mingled, and nations came into being; when the rivers, that are called *elivagas*, had flowed far from their sources, and the venom which they rolled along hardened, as does dross that runs from a furnace, and became ice. When the rivers flowed no longer, and the ice stood still, the vapour arising from the venom gathered over it, and froze to rime; and in this manner was formed, in Ginnungagap, many layers of congealed vapour piled one over the other. That part of Ginnungagap that lies towards the north was thus filled with heavy masses of gelid vapour and ice, whilst everywhere within were whirlwinds and fleeting mists." The Eddaic narration goes on to say that, when the heated blast proceeding from Muspellheim "met the gelid vapour, it melted it into drops, and, by the might of Him who sent the heat, these drops quickened into life, and took a human semblance."

The geologists tell us that during a considerable portion of the pliocene period Europe endured a climate frigid as that which now holds the Arctic regions in its bitter thrall. The deep valleys were filled, and the lofty mountains thickly mantled, with snow, and gigantic icebergs towered above the frozen waters; nature realising the picture of boreal misery dimly shadowed forth in the *Edda*. How long this glacial epoch continued none can guess; but there is no reason to think that it terminated suddenly by any grand convulsion, but rather that there was, as it were, a mid-winter of fearful severity, which gradually yielded to a higher temperature, the precursor of a genial spring. Whilst this transformation of climate was in progress, the land of

Britain became the home of the now extinct mammoth (*elephas primigenius*) and rhinoceros (*R. tichorhinus*) of Siberia, and the musk-ox (*bubalus moschatus*) and reindeer (*cervus tarandus*), whose living representatives are still denizens of the frozen zone.¹ The remains of all these northern creatures are found within a short distance of London; and to say the least of it, it is a most remarkable circumstance, that among the very earliest traces of man exhumed in the metropolis are various objects which remind us strongly of Esquimaux fashions. Take, for instance, the bone ferrules of spear-shafts found in Moorfields, the pointed end of the ashen war-club recovered from the Thames bank, and the presumed fishing-rod of rib-bone discovered in Southwark;² and to these must now be added the relic which it is the special purpose of this paper to describe, and which was brought to light on Oct. 28, 1867, from a depth of between thirty and forty feet, in Smithfield, close to the western end of the new Meat Market, and is now the property of Mr. J. W. Baily. (See plate 9, fig. 1.) This exquisitely rare, if not unique, implement is wrought out of a piece of oak, its extreme length being nineteen inches and a quarter. For form it may be likened to a broad-bladed, pointed knife, measuring three inches and seven-twelfths next the haft, the stoutest part of the curved back being three-quarters of an inch in thickness. The flat-sided handle is on the same plane as the blade, and spreads forward and backward at top, so as to secure a firm grip when the implement was used. And next comes the question, what was the use of this most curious object? If similitude in contour, size, and fitness for purpose, be accepted as evidence of design, then I think we can scarcely doubt that we have before us an ancient British knife for scraping snow from off fur clothing. Place this archaic implement in juxtaposition with the snow-knives of the Esquimaux, and their identity of form must be apparent to every one.³ My friend, Mr. A. W. Franks, has kindly furnished me with full-sized sketches

¹ The food of the reindeer (*cenomyce rangiferina*) and the Iceland moss (*ce-traria Islandica*) are both indigenous to Britain, and may be looked upon as remnants of a boreal flora.

² See *Journal*, xxii, 91, 241, 446.

³ Though the knife is the common form of the Esquimaux snow-scraper, other types are sometimes met with. For description of those of strigel-shape, see *Journal* (xi, 81). Captain Parry refers to snow-knives in his first voyage, 1819-20, p. 286.

of three Esquimaux snow-knives in the British Museum, one of which is wrought wholly of a slice of the curved tusk of the morse, the others having blades of this material fixed to hilts of bone and wood. These specimens measure respectively in length fourteen inches and three quarters, fifteen inches and three quarters, and nineteen inches. The latter, the haft of which is of bone, is engraved in pl. 9, fig. 2, and is believed to have formerly belonged to Sir Hans Sloane. Other examples of polar snow-knives of the same type may be seen in the Christy collection. Two constituted part of lot 527 at the sale of the Dawson Museum at Messrs. Christie & Manson's Rooms, April 11, 1851; and Mr. Cato has favoured me with the loan of the blade of another example, measuring fourteen inches and a half in length. There is, therefore, no lack of Esquimaux snow-knives in this country to compare with the Smithfield relic.¹ This treasure I unhesitatingly refer to the same era as the bone daggers, spear-heads, and ferrules, pins and instruments of antlers, and stone axe-blades, which have at various times been dug up in London. And should any one question the possibility of wood outlasting the vicissitudes of so many ages, I would just remind them of the preservation of divers log-canoes; of the recovery of the stone axe-head and its pine wood haft near Cookstown, co. Tyrone;² of the finding of the oaken war-club in Loch Doon, Ayrshire, in 1831;³ of the wooden sword met with in Drumkelin Bog, co. Donegal, in 1833;⁴ and the knife-like implement of wood discovered in the oak coffin at Gristhorp, N. R. of York, in 1834;⁵ all of which articles belong to the *stone period*. And be it further remembered that Dr. Correa de Serra states that some of the birch, fir, and oak timber found in the submarine forest on the coast of Lincolnshire, was sufficiently sound to be "employed for economical purposes by the people of the county."⁶

¹ It may be urged that, by insisting on the resemblance between the London and Arctic knives, we must take for granted that the Britannie tribes were acquainted with the morse, or at any rate with its tusks, and employed them for a like purpose as the Esquimaux; and what proof have we of this? The future may give a clearer answer than the present time will permit; but this much may be stated *ad interim*, that a portion of the skull of a morse was exhumed in Long Alley, Moorfields, in Feb. 1866.

² *Archæological Journal*, iv, 3.

³ Lyell's *Principles of Geology*, London, 1850, p. 735.

⁴ *Archæologia*, xxvi, 361.

⁵ *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1834, p. 634.

⁶ De la Beche's *Geological Manual*, London, 1833, p. 166.

But whilst the possibility of a wooden implement of the *stone period* being preserved to our time, is capable of ready proof, and the likeness in form between the Esquimaux and Smithfield knives cannot be disputed, a query may still be raised as to the need of a snow-scraper in Britain during the age to which I venture to assign this precious memento of barbaric antiquity. That our climate was sufficiently frigid, at this distant period, to suit the taste and habits of the huge whales of the northern ocean is evidenced by the number of their wrought and unwrought bones discovered in the Valley of the Thames, and which have already been described in this *Journal* (xxiii, 251, 289). We can scarcely doubt that the intense cold so well adapted to cetacean life was accompanied by abundant snow-falls, and that the Britannic savage would be as desirous as the Esquimaux to free his fur clothing from the nival encumbrance. Giving, therefore, due weight to all the evidence we possess as to the condition of our climate in ancient times, and considering the near resemblance in size and outline between the implements from the Arctic regions and the one exhumed in London, we seem to have good and sufficient grounds for pronouncing the latter a British snow-knife of far remote antiquity,—an antiquity coeval, in all probability, with the fauna and flora of Denmark, when the reindeer sought shelter in the wide-spreading forests of oak, ere the beech had begun to flourish on Scandinavian soil.

Some of the views advanced in this paper are so bold and novel, that they may not at first find an universal or even a ready acceptance; but they are based on facts which cannot be gainsaid, which will bear the touchstone of investigation, and which future discoveries can only help to confirm. Hence the more these facts are developed, the more sure will be the ultimate reception of these views.



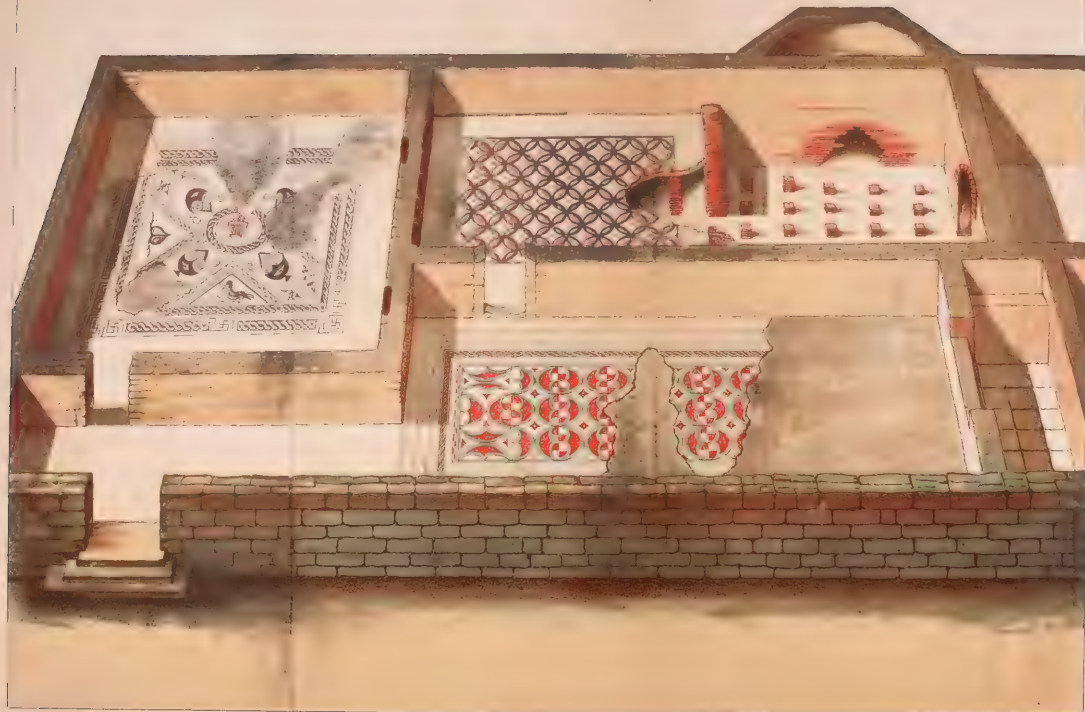
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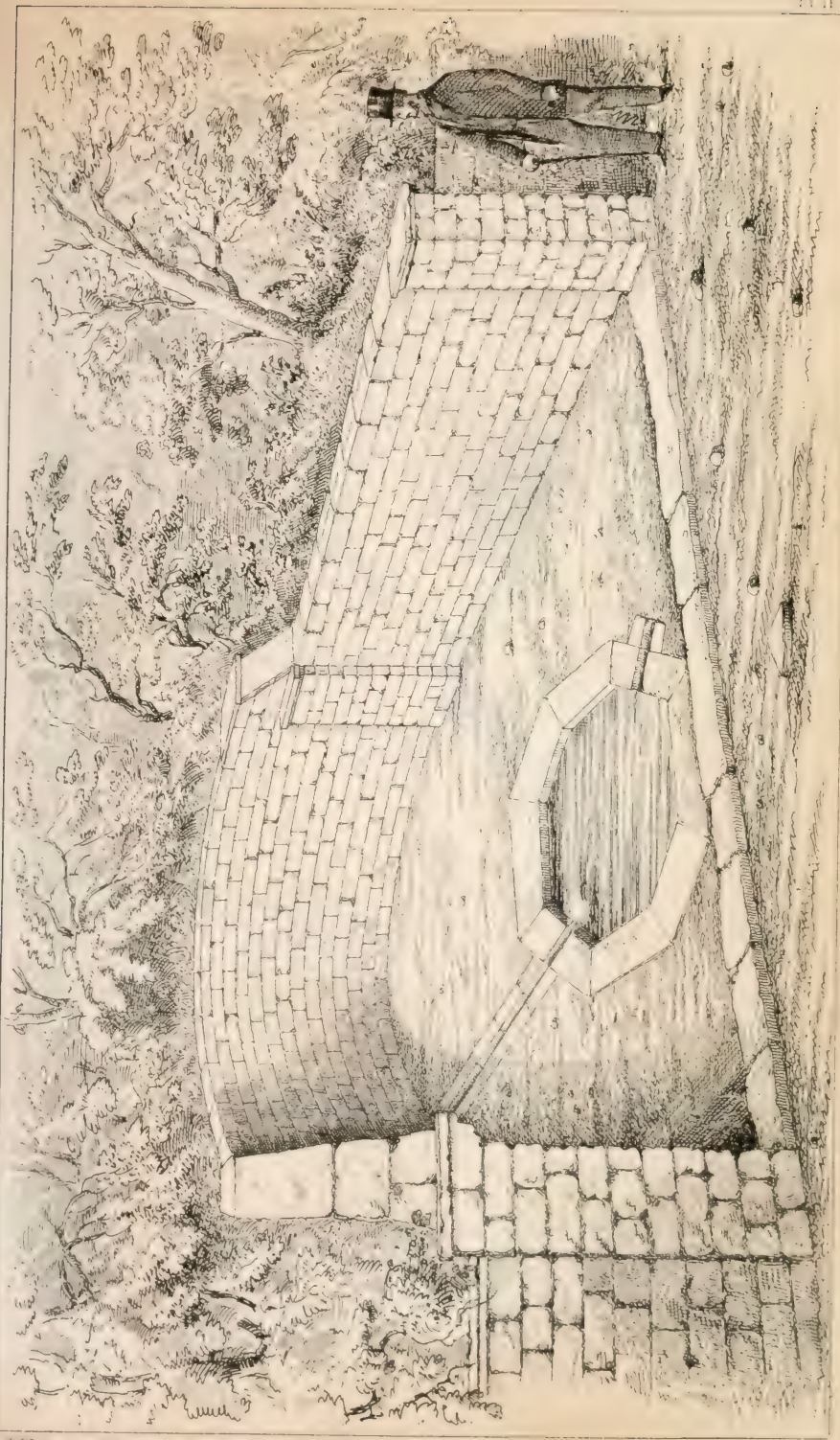
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BATHS AT CHEDWORTH VILLA







ON A ROMAN VILLA AT CHEDWORTH.

BY J. W. GROVER, ESQ.

AT the seventh mile from Cirencester, in a steep Cotswold valley, and embosomed in a shady grove of trees, stands the Fosse Bridge Inn, a comfortable hostelry, which was probably once the site of a Roman mansion, as its very name is indicative of the Roman occupation of our island. At the bottom of this valley, two miles to the left, and among the coverts of the wood, lies the Roman villa of Chedworth, which was discovered in 1864. It occupies the extremity of a ravine which opens into the vale, and looks upon the river Coln, the parent stem of the Thames, which at this point is about six or seven miles from Thames Head near Cheltenham.

The buildings of this villa, or rather the foundations which remain, are placed at the base of the natural slopes surrounding them closely on three sides, and covered with a thick growth of wood. The spot is one of remarkable beauty and seclusion, eminently calculated for the site of an elegant, retired sylvan residence, where its lord might enjoy at leisure the beauties of undisturbed nature, and in the neighbouring woods find good sport to enliven his more active moments. Although the aspect of the villa is north-east, yet so closely do the hills surround it that few winds can disturb its precincts, whilst the dense foliage is sufficient to protect it from the heats of the summer sun.

Although much has been excavated, yet it seems that a large portion of the foundations and many pavements remain yet to be unearthed. The south-western extremity, against the termination of the dell, forms one end of the block, which is about eighty yards across. From either end of this, and at right angles to it, run two parallel lines of buildings; one on the south-east, and the other on the north-west side. That on the latter side contains a very extensive range of buildings, whilst of the opposite portion but little remains. Three substantial wooden sheds serve to protect the pavements and baths; and to enter two of these it is necessary to obtain the key from an intelligent custodian, who devotes

much of her time to the preservation and protection of the interesting relics.

On entering the nearest building of the extremity to the left, the antiquary finds himself in a large room paved with a very bright and beautiful mosaic in singularly good preservation. The centre compartment is divided into various divisions, some of which are destroyed by rabbit-burrows. They contain dancing figures in various attitudes. At the four corners, in triangular spaces, are the four seasons wrought out with singular art. That of Winter is very interesting, exhibiting the dress probably of the Roman sportsman in primæval Britain. His head is enveloped in a capote or hood similar to that worn by the head of Winter in the great Bignor pavement, and also illustrated in the bronze of a Roman ploughman in Lord Londesborough's collection. Round the waist goes a belt, and below this there is a lap-peted kilt. The wind appears to be blowing a loose cloak from his shoulders; in his left hand he holds a bare branch, and in his right a rabbit: indeed, rabbiting must have formed a leading amusement amongst the proprietors of this villa, for in another room there is a sculpture of a man holding a rabbit with a dog at his feet. The figure of Spring is very vigorous and artistic. It represents a divinity girt with a sash, and holding in the left arm a basket, whilst with the right she is apparently scattering seed. Upon her hand stands a bird.

This pavement is surrounded with an ingenious, entwined band, beyond which comes a broad and graceful Greek device. It has also some very pleasing patterns in scroll-work, and is generally of a very elaborate and tasty character.

Passing on to the next building, the traveller enters an extensive bathing establishment. This would be best understood by a reference to the accompanying sketch. (Plate 10.) The first space is 16 ft. 6 ins. long by 5 ft. 3 ins. wide, nicely paved. It seems to have served as an anteroom or passage. On one side there is an opening into a finely paved room, 13 ft. by 14 ft. 9 ins., which probably served for unrobing, as an *apoditerium*. The end of the first space opens into a chamber 24 ft. 10 ins. long by 10 ft. wide, at the furthest extremity of which comes an ample bath, probably the *frigidarium*, divided from the room by a sill 1 ft. 10 ins. high. The bather had to step over this division, and then descended

by three steps, 1 ft. 6 ins. high, to the bottom, which is paved with large flat stones set in cement. The bath at the bottom is 7 ft. 3 ins. long, and 6 ft. wide, above the lowest step. Its sides are smoothly covered with cement in excellent preservation.

Adjoining and parallel to this last apartment is another, 21 ft. 6 ins. long by 8 ft. 6 ins. wide, which seems to have formed the *sudatorium* or hot air room. It is entered by a narrow doorway, 2 ft. wide, the step of which shows much wear. This room is divided into two parts, the nearest half being covered with a neat and simple star-pavement supported on an extensive range of hypocaust pillars. The other half is 4 or 5 ft. lower in level, being partly covered with remains of similar pillars of brick: probably this, too, at one time was covered by a pavement. At the furthest extremity comes a doorway, through which the heat probably entered from the *præfurnium* outside the building, which is level with the bottom of the hypocausts. A semi-circular bath, 4 ft. deep, and 7 ft. 6 ins. on the chord, adjoins this chamber, and seems to complete the elaborate thermal arrangement. The walls are surrounded inside with flue-tiles, and remains of the leaden pipes may be perceived. In these apartments may be noticed various relics discovered in the villa, not the least remarkable of which is a finely sculptured, open arabesque balustrade, which probably bounded some terrace or finished the top of some of the walls for architectural effect. The entrance steps to this bath house are very perfect, but show great indications of the wear occasioned by Romano-British feet throughout a long course of ages.

Proceeding a little further, we come to the extremity of the south-western boundary of the villa; and here comes a piece of construction, the object of which it would be difficult to explain. (Pl. 11.) It occupies the corner of the villa, and its walls are surrounded by the ground of the sloping ravine. It consists of a wall of horseshoe form, open at the front, and 19 ft. wide, and 16 ft. 8 ins. deep to the chord line, beyond which comes a semicircular recess, 9 ft. 6 ins. deep. The two side-walls are 4 ft. 6 ins. high: the wall of the recess is 6 ft. 6 ins. high, and is sloped down to meet the lower walls on either side. The corners of the square portion are formed of square pilasters, 2 ft. square, surmounted

by enriched caps. Along the front runs a low stone sill or step, 3 ins. high and 2 ft. wide, much worn by feet. The interior space is occupied by an octagonal basin, 9 ft. diameter, and about 3 ft. deep, full of sparkling water, which is admitted on one side by a half-round drain in stone, and which escapes on the other by similar means. In the corner is a small sunk space with two steps neatly cut in stone. What is this singular building for? Can it be, as Mr. Lysons supposes, a baptistery? A bath it certainly was not. Its form and situation are very singular; and the presence of many Christian indications in the villa seem to give strength to Mr. Lysons' suggestion.

I have already alluded to these singular vestiges of pre-Augustine faith in a former paper (vol. xxiii, pp. 221-230). I had not, however, when that paper was written, the benefit of personal examination of the villa referred to, being dependent on Mr. Lysons' description. I can now speak as to the accuracy of that gentleman's statements. The Christian symbols are unequivocal (pl. 12); and in addition to these, about which there is no mistake, many singular crosses exist, to which, in ordinary cases, no importance would be attached, but which become interesting from their surroundings. I have sketched a stone pyramidal block, which the attendant declared to be a candlestick (figs. 1 and 2); and which, for want of a better description, may be accepted as one, although I should be disposed to assign it some architectural duty. This stone is covered with crosses of various forms. (Fig. 3.) The *chirho* also occurs on a door-step.

Another stone is inscribed with the letters PRASIATA, evidently referring to Prasiatagus (fig. 4), the husband of Boadicea. Bricks are also found in this parish; some are in Cirencester Museum, bearing the letters ARVIRI. This would clearly refer to Arviragus, the king of the Dobuni, who inhabited this country, and ruled in state, as a tributary king, at Cirencester, when Vespasian was engaged in converting its rude wigwams into noble Roman palaces. What is most singular is, that Arviragus is said by tradition to have been a Christian, owing his conversion to Joseph of Arimathea. That he dwelt here seems pretty evident; and it is, perhaps, not too much to say that these pavements have been trodden by the royal feet of Boadicea.

Evidences of a very early pre-Roman settlement at this



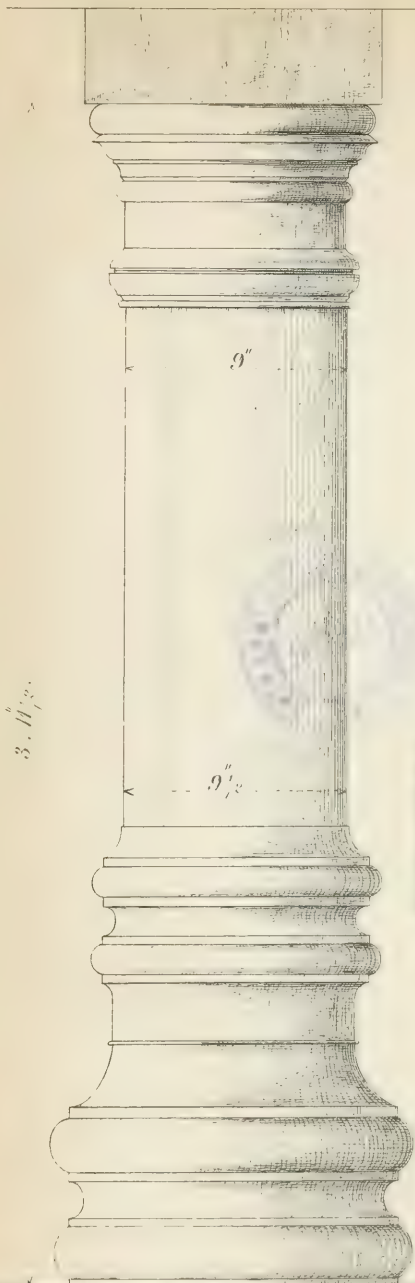


Fig. 1

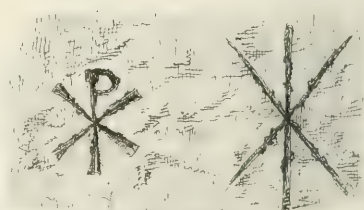


Fig. 3.



Fig. 4



Fig. 2.

spot are not unfrequent. I noticed a quantity of British pottery, and several tumuli are to be seen close by.

The mouldings of the columns and capitals in this villa are clearly of the best period of Roman art : in fact, of the same date as many of the buildings in Cirencester, and of the time of Vespasian. This neighbourhood seems to have been the most favoured and earliest settled district. In no part of England are the remains of Roman art and civilisation so extensive as in East Gloucestershire, and nowhere are finer churches and country residences to be seen nowadays. Can the architectural taste implanted by the Latin lords eighteen hundred years ago have descended to these modern times in the popular mind ? Teams of oxen are still used in this country at the plough, as they were in the days of the legions ; and perhaps the ancient love of field-sports, so conspicuous in the remains and representations in the villa, may now find its development, in a greater degree, in the fox-hunting and coursing so fondly and conspicuously followed here.

The historical and archæological student is gradually coming to the conclusion that we may as well and as correctly call ourselves Anglo-Romans as Anglo-Saxons.

Passing now along the north-west side, we find an extensive range of buildings, the walls of which are in some places six and seven feet high. The backs of these buildings rest against the slope of the hill, which continues to be densely wooded. The first object which strikes the observer is a portion of an elegant column, 7 ft. high, and about 11 ins. in diameter. Several more can be seen, and one is shewn. (Pl. 12, fig. 5.) They evidently supported the roof of a kind of peristyle, adjoining which is another extensive set of baths, probably used by the servants and dependents of the household. In the centre is a swimming-bath, about 14 ft. long by 12 ft. 8 ins. wide, and 3 ft. 6 ins. deep. At either end of this are two others, of horse-shoe form, 4 ft. 6 ins. long by 4 ft. wide and 4 ft. deep. All have two steps, and are nicely cemented. The roof was probably supported by three elegant, small columns, which now stand on their ancient sites. (See pl. 10.) An extensive range of buildings, probably kitchens and bakeries, are found on this side. In one a forest of small pillars stands, evidently forming the support of the pavement, which has now disappeared.

The ground is strewn with fragments of the building, and quantities of the horns of large stags and oxen have been collected. There are also several specimens of iron spear-heads, shears, locks, hinges; and three large pigs of charcoal iron, weighing, perhaps, five or six hundredweight apiece, which most likely had been brought from the furnaces of the Forest of Dean, and were intended to be worked up in the household forge.

The writer of this had but a short time to make these observations and sketches. They are necessarily, therefore, very imperfect and partial. It is to be hoped, however, that some gentleman in the locality may be induced to undertake the preparation of a proper set of plans and drawings of this most interesting relic of antiquity. Much remains still buried, which, no doubt, will in future be opened; and until this is done, a proper explanation of the general arrangement would not be possible. Too much praise cannot, however, be given to the liberality of the proprietor, Lord Eldon, who has been at great expense in opening, and protecting by suitable buildings, this precious discovery. Nor is it right to omit a few words of thanks to Mr. Lysons, the eminent Gloucestershire antiquarian, whose researches have thrown so much light upon the history of this villa and the faith of its owners. It must have been a very beautiful retreat; and no doubt the vale in which it stands, which slopes gently down to the small river Coln, was covered with extensive walks and gardens, in that trim fashion the Roman Pliny loved so well.

About half a mile from the villa, in the wood, and immediately adjoining the present road and the rushing waters of the Coln, can be seen the massive foundations of an extensive temple, about sixteen yards wide, the length uncertain. At its southern extremity the writer was able to trace the raised stone dais, with the dwarf walls which probably supported the steps to the altar. Who was the god to whom it was consecrated? Could he have been the divinity of the Thames river, near whose source, in the Cheltenham hills, the Temple stands? Or is it fair to suppose that here were heard the first early sounds of the religion of Jesus of Nazareth?

The presence of the numerous St. George and St. Andrew's crosses in this villa, coupled with the proximity of the name of Arviragus and the Christian monogram, seem to confirm,

in a remarkable manner, the story of the early origin of our national ensign (the Union Jack), and of its adoption by Arviragus, as set forth by that quaint old chronicler, John Hardyng, thus, as quoted by Mr. Lysons :

“ Joseph converted this king Arviragus
 By his prechyng to knowe ye lawe divine,
 And baptized hym as write hath Neninus.
 The chronicler in Britain tongue full fyne
 (And to Christe lawe made him enclyne)
 And gave him then a shelde of silver white,
A cross end long and overthwart full perfect.
 These armes were used through all Brytaine
 For a common signe eche mane to know his nacion
 From enemies, which now we call certaine,
 St. Georges armes by Nenyus information.
 And thus this armes by Josephs creacion,
 Full long afore St. George was generate
 Were worshipt here of mykell elder date.”

It seems almost too much, in these doubting days, to venture soberly to ascribe to the ensign of Britain the honour of having braved the battle and the breeze nearer two than one thousand years, and to have been veritably introduced by Joseph of Arimathea in the days of the apostles; still the evidence is singular, and in less important matters would be accepted unhesitatingly.

I cannot but think the labours of the antiquary are of some national value when they tend to confirm tradition, and divert its dark paths into the bright historical highway. There is to me, and there ever will be, a wonderful charm in all that concerns the early dawn, in our land, of that divine faith which still, in spite of the sneers of the sophist and the tumult of contending factions, continues to be a shining lantern to guide the good man's steps, and a chastening corrective to the bad man's pride.



ON THE BARONY OF BURFORD.

BY EDWARD LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC.

It is an established fact in modern society, that those whose privilege it is to associate with "the upper ten thousand" are considered, by those who do not participate in the same so-called advantages, as somewhat superior to the ordinary class of mortals; and people whose experiences are derived from habitual intercourse with the higher circles, are ever treated and listened to with more distinctive marks of respect and attention than those who herd with the πολλοι. A Fitz-Plantagenet in corduroys is more acceptable than a Jenkins in broadcloth, and a Stanley Howard reduced to saveloys and small beer would be better "received" than a John Tomkins elevated to turtle and champagne. On this ground, therefore, if upon no other, I venture to hope that the parish of Burford may be deemed worthy of our attention, inasmuch as it abounds with reminiscences of the great folks to whom it belonged in times now long since past, and is described by George Nicholson, writing of it even so late as 1813, as "a beautiful village stationed upon the banks of the Teme, *the residence of genteel families only.*" Whether in these reforming days of compound householders and pot-wallopers it retains its exclusiveness, and still continues to act upon the "*odi profanum vulgus et arceo*" principle, I am unable to say; but as we are more especially concerned with it as archæologists, I must ask you to transfer your thoughts with me to "the days of auld lang syne," and to regard it in connexion with those noble and illustrious personages whose effigies still deck its church, and who "being dead still speak," to call to our minds those long past ages when deeds of valour and patriotism first kindled that torch of liberty which has since gleamed so brightly over our island; when piety and munificence joined hand in hand to rear those venerable piles sacred to religion or learning, whose very ruins, as we gaze upon them, fill us with admiration and awe; when the arts of peace and war secured to us those glorious monuments and institutions of bygone ages which we meet, upon occasions like this, to contemplate and discuss, with the hope perchance, though scarcely with

the expectation, that among us, too, may be found some who may be as useful in our generation as those worthies who have preceded us were in theirs; so that our names and memories may be handed down to posterity as benefactors to our species with the same respect and veneration as theirs have been: and that of us, too, it may be sung as it was of them of old, that although

“The knights are dust,
And their good swords are rust,
Their souls are with the saints we trust.”

Burford, then, as Eyton tells us, was the *caput* of Osbern Fitz Richard's Shropshire barony, and it is thus described in Domesday,—“*Osbern Fitz Richard holds Burford of the king. Richard his father held it.*” Now this Richard, his father, who was its lord in the Saxon times, was Richard Scrupe, or Scrob, or Fitz Scrob, one of the favourites of Edward the Confessor, who conferred upon him this manor, with four others in Worcestershire, and one in Herefordshire, viz. Yarpole, about four miles south of Richard's Castle, of which this Richard Scrupe is believed to have been the builder. He survived the Norman conquest, but died before the completion of *Domesday*; of which I may remark, that although the exact date of its various surveys are in many cases uncertain, yet we are fortunate to be able to ascertain it with regard to this particular county, for on folio 252 the Abbey of Shrewsbury is mentioned with the words “*quam facit ibi comes.*” Now we are informed by Ordericus Vitalis that the foundation of this abbey was vowed by Roger de Montgomery in 1083; while Dugdale, quoting from a register of the abbey, formerly in the possession of Sir Richard Leveson, tells us that it was finished in 1087; and the Conqueror's charter shews that the monks were not settled there till the latter year, which would be the date of the Shropshire Survey.

But to resume our history of the barony. Upon the death of Richard Scrupe, his Shropshire manor (with others in this county and in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Warwickshire, and Bedfordshire) was granted to his son Osbern, who was lord of it in 1087.

As Eyton has given an account of the baronies of Burford and Richard's Castle, and a genealogical table of their descendants through the families of the Osberns, the Says, the

Stutevills, the Mortimers, and the Zouches, from 1052 to 1307, with short notices of the successive lords, and of the extent of the parish and townships of Burford, together with particulars relating to its ancient manorial and ecclesiastical possessions and privileges, there is no need for me to recapitulate the information contained in his learned and valuable work, particularly as up to the reign of Henry III there is no person or event immediately connected with its history which would seem worthy of especial notice.

Under this monarch, however, Burford seems to have become a place of some importance, for in the fifty-first of his reign (1266) a charter dated at Kenilworth, 16th November, grants to Hugo de Mortuomari (Hugh Mortimer) a weekly market on Saturdays, and an annual fair of three days on 4th, 25th, and 26th March. Various privileges were also ceded to him, such as liberty to hunt in the royal forests in Herefordshire, Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, in acknowledgment, no doubt, of the assistance he had afforded to Henry in his operations against Lewellyn, Prince of Wales, and his personal valour at the battles of Lewes and Evesham. After his decease the manor descended to his son Robert, and upon his death the king's writ of *diem clausit extremum* issued, and an inquisition as to the state of the hundred of Overs was held at Shrewsbury. The jurors there spoke of the barony and manor of Burford as being in the king's hand or that of his escheator till the heir should have fined for his livery. They also said that the late Hugh de Mortimer had procured Burford to be made a free borough by Henry III after the battle of Evesham, but that no "ferm" (or tax) was paid to the Crown on that account. And they found also that since the said battle the "Baron of Burford" had appropriated a right of free warren in Burford, "but," as they added, "*the jurors knew not by what warrant*," a fact which, considering the usual sagacity of British juries, is not very remarkable, especially as the "Baron," in all probability, helped himself to his rights without any warrant whatsoever. After the death of Baron Robert, in 1287, the manor descended to his son Hugh, and upon his death, *circa* 1304, to his younger daughter Margaret. This lady, marrying in 1307 Geoffrey de Cornwall, conveyed the manor to him, and the barony thus became vested in that ancient family which was so distinguished in this county, with whose name Burford

was so long associated, and many of whose ancestors were so illustrious that the remarks which I shall make with regard to some of them will not, I trust, be thought unworthy of our attention.

First and foremost stands Richard Plantagenet, the second son of King John, and brother of King Henry III, who was born in 1209, and in 1229 was created Earl of Poitou and Cornwall. This prince, who was one of the leading political and military characters of the important period during which he lived, was, in 1226, elected King of the Romans, and on the 27th May, 1227, was with great pomp and circumstance crowned in Germany as "King of Almaine." He died in 1271, and as an account of him will be found in Dugdale, and the various details of his eventful life are set forth in all our ordinary histories, I will not detain you by any further reference to them, except merely to call to your minds a curious fact which is far less generally known,—that it was this "Richard of Alemaigne" who was the subject of the first politico-satirical ballad which occurs in the history of our language.

The circumstances under which this ballad was composed were these:—In the year 1264 took place the battle of Lewes, which proved so fatal to the King, and in which the Sovereign himself, Prince Edward, and the King of the Romans were all taken prisoners by the forces of the victorious Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester and Clare, who espoused the cause of the barons against the King. The ballad itself, which was evidently written by one of De Montfort's adherents, alludes to the fact of an offer of £30,000 having been made to Richard to reconcile the King and the barons, but represents him as demanding even more than this. It accuses him of being a trickster, a spend-thrift, and a debauchee; insinuates that he hid himself in a mill during the engagement, and, as Don Quixote did in later times, took its sails, not for giants' arms, but for *man-gonels* or battering-rams. In fact, it sums up his character as being anything but that of an "officer and a gentleman," let alone a prince of the blood and a king in foreign parts. In order, however, to give you a taste of its quality, I will read you the first three stanzas—

Sitteth all stille and herkneþ to me
The kyn of Alemaigne, by mi leaute,
Tritti thousand pound askede he
For to make the pees in the countre

And so he dude more.
 Richard, thah thou be euer trichard
 Trichten shal thou neuermore.

Richard of Alemaigne, whil that he wes kyng,
 He spende al his tresour opon swyuyng.
 Haveth he nout of Walingford oferlyng¹
 Let him habbe, as he brew, bale to dryng²
 Maugre Wyndesore.³
 Richard, thah thou, &c.

The kyng of Alemaigne wende do ful wel
 He saisede the mulne for a castel
 With hare sharpe swerdes he grounde the stel
 He wende that the sayles were mangonel⁴
 To helpe Wyndesore.
 Richard, &c.

And so on for six more stanzas. As the whole, however, is printed with explanatory notes in Warton's *History of English Poetry* (i, p. 42, Lond. 1846), there is no occasion for me to go through the rest. I will only remark that whatever may have been the individual conduct of the Earl of Cornwall upon this occasion, we may readily suppose that the "chaff" thus administered to one of the principal leaders of the royal cause must have tended very much to damage it, and to advance that of Leicester, while the literature of the period, as exemplified in Matthew Paris, Robert of Gloucester, and other contemporary writers, is worthy our patient study, not only on account of the language in which it is couched, and the details into which it enters with regard to the domestic habits and usages of our ancestors, but in reference to those most momentous political events which were then in progress—events which even now breathe their influence through our institutions and involve questions of the greatest interest with regard to the progress and development of our national liberties. I refer more particularly to the origin of the two houses of our legislature as first exhibited in a distinctive form under Simon de Montfort, to whom the learned professor Reinhold Pauli, in his work lately published upon the earl's life, has not hesitated to call "*der Schöpfer des*

¹ *I. e.*, he has not even so much as one furlong left of Wallingford, which was one of the honours granted to him under a patent dated 2 Hen. III. See Dugdale's *Baronage*, *sub tit.* Earl of Cornwall.

² As he brews misery for others, so let him have it to drink himself.

³ *I. e.*, in spite of the help and patronage of the king, one of whose chief strongholds was Windsor Castle.

⁴ He thought that the sails were battering-rams.

Hauses der Gemeinen, i.e., "the creator of the House of Commons."

The next of the Cornwalls, or rather a Cornwall by marriage, who claims our attention, is the Princess Elizabeth, second daughter of John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and sister to Henry IV. This noble lady was the wife of John Holland, third son of Thomas de Holland, Earl of Kent, by Joan Plantagenet, so celebrated in history as "the fair maid of Kent." Her husband was afterwards raised to the dignity of the Earldom of Huntingdon (1387), was next constituted great Chamberlain of England for life, and in 1397 was created Duke of Exeter by King Richard II. Upon the deposition of that unfortunate monarch, he was one of the nobles who still upheld his cause against Henry IV in the west, and after the reduction of Cirencester he was captured in the neighbourhood of London, whence he was taken to Pleshey, near Chelmsford, and there beheaded. Thus Henry Bolingbroke carried out the threat which Shakespeare has put into his mouth in King Richard II (act v, scene iii) in these words—

But for our trusty brother-in-law, and the abbot
 With all the rest of that consorted crew,—
 Destruction straight shall dog them at the heels,—
 Good uncle, help to order several powers
 To Oxford, or where'er these traitors are :
 They shall not live within this world, I swear,
 But I will have them, if I once knew where.
 Uncle, farewell ; and cousin, too, adieu :
 Your mother well hath pray'd, and prove you true !

After his death (A.D. 1400) his widow married Sir John Cornwall, afterwards Lord Fanhope, K.G. This gallant nobleman, who was renowned for his skill in martial accomplishments, appears to have set up at the beginning of Henry IVth's reign, so to speak, as a professional tilter, and to have held himself open to all comers. Belz, in his *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, observes that "the frequency of challenges to passages and single feats of arms during this reign may probably be ascribed to the unwelcome leisure which was afforded to the chivalry of England and France by Henry's pacific policy. Monstrelet records two defiances to the King himself—the one from Louis, Duke of Orleans, brother of Charles VI., the other from Waleran Count of St. Paul, the brother-in-law of Richard

II. The former was courteously declined by Henry, partly on the ground of a subsisting treaty of amity, made before his accession, with Orleans, but principally on that of present inequality of rank. The defiance of the Count of St. Paul was treated with contempt. The most prominent among the other challengers of the time were Johan de Werchin, the renowned Seneschal of Hainault, and his equally brave antagonist, Sir John Cornwall." In a MS. in the Bibliothèque Impériale at Paris (No. 8,417) entitled *Lettres du Seneschal de Hainault*, an account is given of the various feats at arms performed by the redoubtable Johan de Werchin, and a letter addressed to Henry informs him of the writer's anxiety to encounter some of his most famous knights. This letter is too long to be given here *in extenso*, but the purport of it is that the Seneschal, having read the history of King Arthur and the Knights of the Round Table, and heard that a certain King of England had revived that association by founding an order called the Garter, having the same object in view, to wit, the training and encouragement of knights in chivalric exercises, now he (the writer), although but an humble professor of the same arts, is desirous of inviting them all, individually and severally, to a personal encounter with him in the presence of the King, or of his eldest son, on a day to be fixed, at some place about forty miles from London. And should the King be pleased to grant this request, he prays for safe conduct by his herald, the bearer. To this the King replies, that with all due deference to the gallant Seneschal, he cannot permit any of his knights to go any distance to meet him, for that it is nowhere stated in any of the histories of King Arthur and the Round Table that such was the custom in old times ; so that it would be contrary to all precedent for a knight to go forth to encounter a strange knight. In order, however, that the Seneschal may not think that his knights are deficient in "pluck," he reminds him that it is frequently recorded that one knight, in whatever spot he had happened at the time to be, had gladly encountered from ten to forty knights from foreign countries, and honourably acquitted himself in the contest. He is perfectly willing, therefore, to accommodate the Seneschal if he will come to London, but he cannot break through the rules of *etiquette* so far as to allow any of his knights to

meet him halfway. The King's letter is dated London, 20th February, 1408, and fixes the first May, 1409, O.S., as the day on which the contest was to be held. The Seneschal, in his reply, dated Paris, 27th (March), after acknowledging the receipt of the King's letter, says that he shall be most happy to accept Henry's polite invitation, but that a previous engagement prevents his having the pleasure of attending on the day named. This engagement was an appointment with Sir John Cornwall to a combat "*a oultrance*" in the presence of his (the Seneschal's) liege lord, the renowned Jean sans Peur, Duke of Burgundy, on 1st June. He proposes, however, to be in London on 1st July for the purpose of "polishing off" any given number of Knights of the Garter, if the King will send him safe conduct for himself and one hundred men, with as many horses, "available," as we say in these railway times, from 1st June to the end of the following month. The match with Sir John appears for some reason or other to have been put off, but a long paper-war between the two intending combatants with regard to the settlement of various points of detail in matters of precedence and etiquette was kept up till the end of the year. The safe conduct for England was granted to the Seneschal, and will be found in Rymer's *Fœdera*, couched in the following terms:—

"Rex universis et singulis admirallis, etc., ad quos, etc., Salutem. Sciatis quod suscepimus in saluum et securum conductum ac in protectionem, tuitionem, et defensionem nostras speciales Johannem Dominum de Wrechen Senescallum de Haynau, infra regnum nostrum Angliæ, ad certa (*sic*) punctus et facta armorum in ibi perficiendum, cum centum personis, equitibus in comitatu suo, una cum bonis et harnesiis, etc., ut in similibus de conductu literis. In cujus etc, a sextodecimo die Aprilis proximo futuro per duos menses tunc proximo sequentes duraturas. Teste Rege apud Westmonasterium vicesimo tertio die Februarii."

Accordingly the Seneschal came to London with a splendid retinue, and jousts were held at Smithfield, of which we find the following entry in Leland's *Collectanea*:—"In the x yere of King Henry the senescal of Henaud came to seke aventures yn England, and the Earl of Somerset answerid hym. The next day an Henaud an Syr Richard of Arundek (*sic*) knight. The 3 day an Henaud and Syr John of Cornewall:" so that, although the knight who proved victorious over the seneschal was John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, yet Sir John

Cornwall held his own against one of the “distinguished foreigners,” and no doubt created a favourable impression not only among the sterner sex, but among those of the spectators whom he was even more anxious to please, and to whom Henry, in his letter, refers in the following gallant words :—

“Considerant que les belles dames de n’r’e dicte royaume vouldroient estre aussi courroucies, si pardecza nestoit trouve aucun leur chl’r par amoureux hardement ousast rendre et delivrer ung estrange chl’r de tout ce qu’il vouldroit demander touchant le dit mestier darmes un pour un, cōme nous tenons que se serraient les vostres de pardela, et nous qui de tout nostre cueur somes desirans de leur bonne et belle grace acquerir et leurs couroux escheuir, aussi que vous etes aux v’res, semble que de gentillesse devez assertenir de ceste responce pour content”; *Anglicè*, “Seeing that the beauteous ladies of our kingdom would be highly indignant to think that none of our knights were sufficiently bold for their love to encounter and give all the satisfaction he might desire to any stranger knight, just as your ladies would feel towards your knights, so we, being anxious with all our hearts to earn their goodwill and sweet favour, and to avoid their resentment, as you would do that of your ladies, think that this our answer should prove satisfactory to you.”

Whatever impression the gallant Sir John may upon this occasion have created among the

“Stores of ladies whose bright eyes
Rain influence and adjudge the prize,”

certain it is that, at a previous tilting match, he displayed his prowess with considerable advantage to himself, for we are told that, in 2nd Henry IV [1400-1]:—“Sir John, having deported himself with great bravery in jousting against a Frenchman, at York, in the presence of the king, won the heart of that monarch’s sister, Elizabeth, widow of John Holland, Earl of Huntingdon” (he having been degraded from his rank as Duke of Exeter on account of his opposition to Henry), “whose hand he soon afterwards obtained, and with her considerable grants from the Crown to enjoy during the lady’s life, with a rent-charge of four hundred marks per annum for his own.” I may further remark of this nobleman that, although he obtained the *sobriquet* of “green” Cornwall, from the fact of his having been born at sea near St. Michael’s Mount, his conduct proves that he was far from deserving that epithet. At any rate, he certainly was not the original “green man and still,” for not only was he constantly employed in tournaments and sham fights, but

he was also frequently engaged in active service in the field. In 1415 he fought valiantly at Agincourt, and in 1417 was appointed a commissioner with Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to treat with Guillaume de Montenay, captain of the Castle of Caen, for the surrender of that fortress.

In 1420 "owre soverayne lord the kyng," as Rymer tells us, "was wedded with great solemnitie in the cathedral churche of Treys(Troyes) about midday on Trinitie Sunday"; and on the 9th of February, 1541, his queen was crowned at Westminster. During the rejoicings which took place on this occasion Sir John Cornwall gave a banquet to the king; and as it may interest us as antiquaries to know what was considered worthy of being royal cheer in those days, as compared with the more elaborate and sumptuous entertainments of these modern times, I will lay before you the bill of fare, which I have taken from Add. MSS. 18752 in the British Museum, and which has never yet been printed:—
First course, "grene pese wt veneson, graunte chare" (possibly a large char), "a capon of hawte grese" (or, as we should say, a fat capon), "signet, blawnehe custarde dyaburd with byrdys" (*i.e.*, disposed or ornamented with birds), "leche maskelyn" (a cake or pudding of wheat or rye mixed).
Second course, "roe in brothe" (*i.e.*, broth made of the flesh of a roedeer), "rosey" (a stew of fruits in milk flavoured with almonds, spice, and white roses), "kydde, heronshewes, mownter in mantell" (probably a dish made in the shape of a mounted or hooded hawk, and named after the bird, just as our modern dishes known as *dog-in-a-blanket* or *toad-in-a-hole* receive their not very appropriate or euphonious designations from some fancied resemblance to the animals whose names they bear), "chykyn diaburde, veneson ybake" (baked venison), "frutter lumbarde" (Lombardy fritters), "leche ruwy" (? a rye pudding). For the "suggerarke" (sugar-work), or, as we should call it, "sweets," or *third course*, there were "datys in composte, blawnehe creme w^t annys in cofete" (comfits), "lardys of veneson" (larded venison), rabbits, qwayles, larkys, ryssewes" (rissoles), "vyandys couched w^t lyons" (*i. e.*, meat served up in the shape of, or garnished with, representations of lions, or on a dish supported by lions), "one leche of his armys" (*i. e.*, a cake or pudding made in a mould so as to represent the royal arms; such dishes as resembled animals, coats of arms, or any simi-

lar device, being usually termed "subtleties". At the foot of this *carte* are written the words, "*Hoc festum fecit D'n's J'h'oies Cornewell Regi Anglie.*" On the following page of the same MS. the *menu* of the coronation dinner and supper are written out; but as I am unwilling to occupy too much of our time in the study of culinary antiquities, I shall not on the present occasion reproduce it. Suffice it to say, with the addition of some substantial joints to the first, and teal, pigeons, plovers, and "such small deer," to the second course, and jelly and other sweets to the third, it closely resembles Sir John Cornwall's banquet. The total number of dishes at the dinner consisted only of thirty-three; and at the supper, of twenty *plats*; and at the latter, the *pièce de résistance* was a shoulder of mutton, which in our own more luxurious days would hardly, I fancy, be considered as "a dainty dish to set before the king."

So much, however, for our investigation into gastronomical science during Henry V's reign. Should any housekeeper or archæologist with epicurean tastes wish to pursue the subject further, I can with confidence refer them to the *Antiquitates Culinariæ*, or *Curious Tracts relating to the Culinary Affairs of the old English*, by the Rev. Richard Warner of Sway near Lymington, Hants (London, 1791), who has prefixed to his work, as one of its mottoes, this *memento mori* to those who are inclined to indulge their appetites too much,

Πολλὴ τοὶ πλείονας λιμοῦ κόρος ὤλεσεν ἄνδρας.

Which may be translated,

"More men by feasting than by fasting perish."

On the 17th July, 1443, Sir John Cornwall was created baron of Fanhope, county of Hereford, in recognition of his attachment and services to the crown; and in 1440 he was in France acting as viceroy in those parts which had been conquered by Henry. In the British Museum (Add. Charter, No. 12,074) is an acquittance from the king dated 28th Nov. 1440, having attached to it a seal of red wax (now unfortunately much broken) with the coat of the Cornwalls,—*ermine*, a lion rampant ducally crowned within a border, engrailed bezantée. The document is an acknowledgment of the receipt of 8,700 golden crowns from Charles Duke of Orleans, in part payment of his ransom of 10,000 crowns,

for which his brother, Jehan Comte d'Angoulême, was detained a hostage in England for thirty years after the capture of the duke and his fellow prisoners at Agincourt. On the 30th January, 1442, Sir John received the additional dignity of the barony of Milbroke, county Bedford; but he was always summoned to Parliament as "Sir John Cornwaylle, Chevalier." His case, in this respect, was very remarkable, as although both his creations were in Parliament, and enrolled in Parliament, the former only was exemplified by patent; and in the latter, creating him baron of Milbroke, he is still styled Sir John Cornwall, without any reference to his former creation as Baron Fanhope. In neither instance are there any words of inheritance; and although the absence of such words under ordinary circumstances would give only a life estate to the grantee, the late Lord Lyndhurst in his celebrated argument on the Wensleydale peerage held that his being created a baron in Parliament, "with all and singular rights, privileges, and immunities, in every place within the realm of England, as fully, entirely, and in the same form, as other barons of the same realm before this time have used and enjoyed, gave to him, amongst those rights, the privilege enjoyed by other barons of transmitting his title to his posterity." Be this, however, as it may, he died in 1443 without legitimate issue, and his honours became extinct. His wife, the Princess Elizabeth, died in 1426, and was buried at Burford. The recumbent white alabaster figure in the church, which represents her, was formerly daubed over with common paint, but was restored in 1848.

The last of the barons of Burford, to whom I shall call your attention, and whose likeness, with those of his father and mother, is in a triptych on the north side of the altar, painted by Mechior Salaboss in 1588, is Edmund Cornwall, "the giant," or, as he is styled in the Cotton Roll, xiv, 3 (which is a pedigree of the Cornwall family from the king of the Romans to *circa* 1625), "Edmund Cornwaile de Burford, Esquire, commonly called the strong and bold baron." He is said to have been seven feet three inches in height: but the recumbent figure of him, which is below the triptych I have mentioned, makes him even taller than this. The following account of him, although it has been several times printed, is so quaint and characteristic, that I cannot resist the temptation of reproducing it once more. "He

was," says Habington, "in mind an emperor, from whom he descended; in wit and style so rare, to comprise in a few words, and that so clearly, such store of matter, as I scarce ever saw to equal him, none to excel. He was mighty in body, but very comely, and exceeded in strength all men of his age. For his own delight he had a dainty touch on the lute; and of such sweet harmony in his nature as, if ever he offended any, were he never so poor, he was not friend with himself till he was friend with him again. He led a single life, and before his strength decayed entered the gate of death." At his decease his brother Thomas became baron of Burford, and was living *circa* 1650. After him the manor descended to his son Thomas.

In later times George Legh, Esq., of High Legh, county Cheshire, who was born 10th July, 1703, married Anne Maria, daughter and heir of Francis Cornwall, baron of Burford, and assumed the name of her family. Thus the senior branch of the once princely Cornwalls is now represented by the Cornwall Leghs of Cheshire, whilst the junior is represented by the Cornwalls of Delbury in this county, through their descent from Sir Rowland or Sir Richard Cornwall of Berrington, county Hereford, second son of Thomas Cornwall, baron of Burford, by Elizabeth, daughter and co-heir of Sir Rowland Lenthall, Knt., of Hampton Court, county Hereford. Among their more celebrated descendants in modern times may be mentioned Charles Wolfran Cornwall, Speaker of the House of Commons, 1780-84; and the Right Rev. Folliot Herbert Walter Cornwall, D.D., successively Bishop of Bristol, Hereford, and Worcester, who died 5th September, 1831.

It does not appear from the Rolls of Parliament that the Barons of Burford were ever summoned to the national council by the title of their barony, for, as we have already seen, even as late as 20th Henry VI (1442), Lord Milbroke was summoned as Sir John Cornewayll. With regard to the summonses of barons in general to Parliament, it may be observed that it was by no means a matter of course in ancient times that all who enjoyed that dignity should be, as Dugdale calls them, *Barones Parliamentarii*, or Lords of Parliament, of whom he says that they are those "*ex majoribus regni Baronibus qui à Rege nudè pendent, et ad Parlamentum, sive consilium publicum diplomatibus Regis*

erocantur; nam constat in Angliâ, ut et in Franciâ, non omnes qui à rege prædia sua immediatè tenebant ad Parliamentum admissos, cum nimis esset eorum numerus; sed illos tantum qui proximi essent à rege et dignitate et vassalorum numero ceteros anteirent." After the Conquest all dignities were attached to the possession of lands held immediately of the king upon condition of performing certain services, and such tenure conferred nobility on the individual to whom the grant was made. But by the time of King John the alienation of their knights' fees by the barons increased the number of those who held of the king *in capite*, so much that King John, or at any rate his son, Henry III, obtained a discretionary power of calling to his Great Council only such persons as he thought fit so to summon, and the Great Council of the Realm came to be divided between those whose possessions and influence procured them a writ and those who, not holding *per baroniam*, were yet, on account of their known loyalty to the crown, summoned at the king's pleasure, and also by a writ, as were the tenants *per baroniam*. All these were styled the *Barones Majores* or Greater Barons, whilst those who were possessed of subinfeudations giving manorial rights were styled the *Barones Minores* or Lesser Barons; and became afterwards the germ of the present House of Commons. Henceforth, as Blackstone observes, "the dignity of the peerage became personal instead of territorial; a proof of tenure *per baroniam* became no longer necessary, and the record of the writ of summons came to be sufficient evidence to constitute a lord of Parliament." I am, however, now drifting into matters which are quite sufficient to supply materials for a separate treatise, and which are beyond the scope of this paper. I would refer those who would wish to investigate the interesting details connected with the history of our national titles and dignities, to the able essay upon this subject prefixed by William Courthope, Esq. (a worthy predecessor of our learned associate Mr. Planché, in his office of *Somerset Herald*), to Sir H. Nicolas's *Historic Peerage of England*, published in 1857. For the present I will conclude by expressing a hope that the facts I have laid before you as connected with the Barony of Burford will serve to show how full of historical interest those spots which are designated as "out-of-the-way places" often are. They will at any rate prove to

you the truth of worthy Master Nicholson's remark as quoted at the commencement of this paper, viz., that Burford, however much it may have degenerated since, was at one period of its history "*the residence of genteel families only*," and that more than one of its former lords might justly have asserted of himself, in the words of the motto borne by the present noble owner of its baronial halls, that he was *par ternis suppar*—a peer who was almost a match for any other three.

INVENTORY OF THE VESTMENTS, PLATE, AND BOOKS, BELONGING TO THE CHURCH OF ST. PETER CHEAP,

IN THE CITY OF LONDON, IN THE YEAR 1431.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P.

BEFORE the "Dreadful Fire of London," as the contemporary accounts of that catastrophe agree in calling it, there stood, at the south-west angle of Wood-street, abutting upon Cheapside itself, the Church of St. Peter Cheap, otherwise called St. Peter-le-Cheap, *alias* St. Peter West Cheap. Destroyed by the great fire of 1666, the church was not re-built; but the parish to which it belonged was united to the contiguous parish of St. Matthew, Friday-street, the re-built church of St. Matthew sufficing for the wants of the two parishes. The site of the destroyed church of St. Peter is marked by a venerable plane tree, the *one* tree of Cheapside, in which there still remains a rook's nest. The original owners of the nest were killed by the air-gun of a thoughtless apprentice some twelve years since; but their deserted dwelling was soon seized by a colony of noisy sparrows, who, last year (1867), notwithstanding all the noise and uproar of that great "river of life" that flows beneath them, reared quite a flock of little ones amidst its ample foliage. Leigh Hunt makes particular mention of this tree: "A little child was shown to us," he writes, "who was said never to have beheld a tree but the one in St. Paul's Churchyard. Whenever a tree was mentioned, it was this one; she had no conception of any other, not even of the remote tree in Cheapside."

(Cunningham's *Handbook*.) Beneath its shelter stood, till last year, the Cross Keys Inn, whose sign was taken obviously enough from the emblems of the apostle to whom the church was dedicated.

The parish of St. Peter is so fortunate as to retain its ancient registers and account books; from one of the latter, the following early inventory of vestments, plate, and books is transcribed. The volume in which I found it is a thick folio of some 262 leaves, containing the churchwardens' accounts for a period ranging from 9 Henry VI, 1431, to 1604. The memoranda referring to the earlier portion of this period are, indeed, comparatively scanty, but from 10 Henry VIII to the end the accounts proceed almost without interruption. The volume itself is, at first sight, very perplexing; for the original quires have been taken up, in many cases, quite at random, and bound together with little regard to chronological succession; and, as if to puzzle yet more the casual reader, upon blank leaves of the older quires more recent accounts have been entered. The folios from which the present inventory is taken are folios 172-175, quite in the middle of the book, although the document is, I think, the earliest that the volume contains.

The introductory leaf, fo. 163 (which, as its numbering indicates, is separated from the matter that it ought to preface) bears the following title, in red ink:—

“This Register was made in the tyme of S^r henry hamond p'sone of S. pet' churche in Westchepe and Robert Boteler goldsmythe and Will'am brembylle pynn' the churche wardens of the for said churche in the yere of our lorde M.cccc.xxxj. and the yer of Kynge H. the vj. aft' the conqueste the ix.

that who so eu' p'loynes it away
he shall have crystis curse for ay.”

The concluding malediction on any purloiner of the volume is interesting enough. This “register” or inventory proceeds to give, in detail, an account of the property of the parish. First, we have, at fo. 165, the “Carte Testamenta et alia Eccleie munimenta”; then, fo. 166, “Sequentur (*sic*) benefactores Eccleie.” I omit this part of the record, as well as a short list of “Towalia,” fo. 161, as having too little general interest to warrant insertion. I venture to hope, however, that the portion now printed may be thought worth the trouble that has been bestowed upon it, as illustrating

the condition of a very small but wealthy city parish in the reign of Henry VI. I say a wealthy parish, for it was full of goldsmiths. One of the streets in it is called Goldsmith-street to this day, though not a single member of the craft can now be found within it. In Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, vol. ii, there is a very interesting plate of "Cheapside Cross as it appeared in the year 1547, with part of the procession of Edward VI to his coronation at Westminster," from a contemporary picture late at Cowdry in Sussex. The view shows part of Cheapside, called Goldsmiths' row, within the limits of the present united parishes of St. Matthew Friday Street and St. Peter Cheap. "The shops are set out with cups, vases, beakers, jars, and other elegant pieces of goldsmith's work." The windows of the houses are crowded with eager faces, and at the doors stand the owners, ready to do homage to their king. One house displays a piece of tapestry embroidered with St. George on horseback. If the picture represents the procession on its way to Westminster, then the part of Cheapside shown in the plate is on the south side, whereas the parish of St. Peter lies almost entirely on the north. It is, however, worth noting that St. Peter's parish possessed a "penone with Saint Georges armes and the kings."

Maitland, in his *History and Survey of London* (edit. 1760, vol. i, p. 301,) gives an account of the appearance of Cheapside in the reign of Charles I, which illustrates what has been said of its wealth :—

"At this time (1629) the city greatly abounded in riches and splendour, such as former ages were unacquainted with. Then it was beautiful to behold the glorious appearance of goldsmith's shops in the South Row of Cheapside, which, in a continued course, reached from the Old Change to Bucklersbury, exclusive of four shops only of other trades in all that space, which occasioned the Privy Council, on the eighteenth of November, to make the following order :—

"Forasmuch as His Majesty hath received information of the unseemliness and deformity appearing in Cheapside by reason that divers men of mean trades have shops amongst the goldsmiths ; which disorder it is His Majesty's express pleasure to have reformed ; whereas, by occasion that Sir Heneage Finch, Knight, and some Aldermen did this day attend the board upon other business, then was the same time also mention made of the aforesaid deformity.

"It was thereupon thought fit, and accordingly ordered, that the two Lord Chief Justices, with such other judges as they shall think meet to call unto them, shall consider what statutes or laws there are to enforce the goldsmiths to plant themselves for the use of their trade in Cheap-

side and Lombard-street, and the parts adjacent, and thereupon return certificate to the board in writing with all convenient expedition; of which order the said Lord Chief Justices are hereby prayed and required to take notice, and to perform the same accordingly.”

In a journal wholly devoted to archæological science but little annotation can be needed for the inventory, though the subject tempts one to enter a good deal into detail. I will, however, confine myself to pointing out one or two of its most interesting features.

Three years later than the inventory, on 7 February, 1434, three altars were dedicated in the church—one, on the north side, “et prope vestibulum,” to the Virgin Mary; a second, on the south side, hard by Cheapside and near to Woodstreet (that is, at the south-east angle), to St. Dunstan; and the third, in the nave of the church, near the entrance of St. Dunstan’s chapel, in honour of the Holy Cross. At this last-named altar, a chaplain of the Brothers of the Holy Cross celebrated mass every morning, “circa horam sextam,” “pro benefactoribus illius fraternitatis.” Accordingly, one of the chief relics of the church, the principal ornament on grand occasions of this altar, will be found to be a “peece of the cross of Cryste.” A few years later, 24 Henry VIII, we find that this chaplain, “the morowe masse priest” as he is called, received “for his wages for one hole yere *vjli. xiijs. iiijd.*”

I cannot pass over, without some notice, the set of vestments for the Festival of St. Nicholas, December 6. Brand, in his *Popular Antiquities*, gives many very curious particulars of the observances upon this day, and quotes a passage from Aubanus, who says that in his time, in Franconia, “scholars on St. Nicholas’ Day used to elect three out of their numbers, one of whom was to play the bishop, the other two the parts of deacons. The bishop was escorted by the rest of the boys, in solemn procession, to church, where, with his mitre on, he presided during the time of divine worship; this ended, he and his deacons went about from door to door and collected money, not begging it as alms, but demanding it as the bishop’s subsidy.” Brand adds that the show of the boy-bishop was abrogated by a proclamation, 22 July, 1542—many of the citizens of London, however, kept up the old customs of the day for some years later: in country villages it lingered on until the later years of

the reign of Elizabeth. It will be seen that St. Peter's Church possessed copes, tunicle, alb, chasuble, crozier, and mitre for the boy-bishop and his coadjutors.

The number, richness, and value of the vestments and ornaments of this small parish are not a little remarkable, even though we remember the wealth of its inhabitants; but I gather from the records that the parishioners seem to have vied with one another in making their offerings; goldsmiths, drapers, scribes, priests, giving of their goods choice gifts for their own church. The drapers give cloth of gold, silk, velvets, and white linen; the goldsmiths give censers, chalices, patens, reliquaries; a penner gives a picture; Sir Thomas Woodward, the priest of Farringdon's chantry, gives a surplice. One Thomas Purchase gives to the High Altar a picture of the Five Joys of the Virgin—that is, the annunciation, the visitation, the nativity, the presentation, and the finding of Christ in the Temple.

Just at this time a special interest attaches to this inventory, in connection with many questions that have been put at the meetings of (what for brevity's sake has been called) the Ritual Commission. Of course, in these pages, not a word must be said upon the polemical side of the question. As a matter only of pure archæology I may add one or two notes upon the colours and material of the vestments of St. Peter's parish. For material, the vestments of the priests were made of cloth of gold, of velvet, of satin, of silk, and of bawdakyne. As to their colour, they were of red cloth of gold, of blue cloth of gold, of blue, black, red, white, and green; and also of these commingled colours, red and white, and red and blue. The altar frontals were of black, black and green, red, and blue. As regards the ornamentation of the vestments, frontals and banners, the designs embroidered upon them were as multiform as the minds of the embroiderers. Some designs were taken from the animal kingdom, such as leopards and birds, hounds, conies, eagles, and popinjays; others from the garden, such as roses and lilies, olive branches, vine and ivy leaves. A large number of the patterns were heraldic, such as ragged staves, ostrich feathers, red roses, silver swans, a sun with a heart in the midst, a lion rampant, together with the king's arms, and those of the Dukes of Lancaster and Launceston, and the Earl of Salisbury. Many vestments were adorned with emblems of

saints, the keys for St. Peter, the castle for St. Barbara, the sword and wheel for St. Catherine, a pair of beads for St. Sythe, *i.e.*, St. Osyth, a mitre for St. Nicholas, a saltire cross for St. Andrew : whilst others bore images of the saints—SS. Peter, Paul, and John, St. Anne and the two Marys, the Virgin Mother, and St. Elyn ; and yet another was ornamented with a representation of the Resurrection of the Lord, and another with the symbol of the Trinity.

The enumeration of vestments for the Easter sepulchre receives illustration from subsequent entries ; thus,

“26 Henry VIII. It'm pd. for watchyne of the sepulchre, *xd.*

1555. It'm for watchynge the sepulchre at easter and for brede and drynke for them that watched, *ijs.*

1555. It'm for ij sakkes of coles for the watchmen and to make ffyer w't all on Easter Eve, *xviij*d.**”

But I must not extend the present paper to any greater length by further citation. I may possibly, at some future time, have an opportunity of laying before the Association a few more extracts from these ancient registers, classified and arranged so as to be illustrative of manners and customs in the city of London in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

At the end of the inventory will be found a list of a few of the least usual words that occur in it, with their meanings annexed ; for the explanations there given I have consulted the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, edited by Mr. Albert Way for the Camden Society, and Mr. Halliwell's *Glossary*.

VESTIMENTA ET ALIA ORNAMENTA, FO. 174.

Ffirse j pryncypal vestymente off rede clothe of golde with lib'des and birdes for a Preste Dekyn and sbdekyne w't stoles fan'ons and j cope of the same suyt, p's. *xxxli.*

It'm j pryncipall vestymente of rede clothe of golde wroughte w't ymages and the resurecon of Criste for j preste Dekyn and sudekyne w't stoles fan'ons and j cope of the same suyte, p's. *xl. m're.*

It'm j vestymente of blew clothe of golde wroghte w't grenehoundes and Kenetts and oder houndes for j preste dekyne and sudekyne with stoles j fanon and j cope of the same lakkynges ij fan'ons, p's. *xl. m're.*

It'm j vestymente of blew bawdakyne wroghte w't white grenehoundes for j preste Dekyn and sudekyne for sondaies with ij stoles j fanon and j cope of the same lakkynges ij fanons, p's. *xx. m're.*

It'm j vestymente of blac velvete for preste dekyne and sudekyne w't stoles fan'ons and ij copes of the same suyte and j cope of silke to the same suyte, p's. *xxli.*

- It'm j vestymente of white silke feble for j preste Dekyn and sudekyn w^t stoles fan'ons and j feble cope of the same lakkyng j fanon, p's. *xli*.
- It. j cope of rede clothe of golde for p'yneypall daies w^t conys.
- It'm. j olde cope of rede clothe golde w^t orfeis of gren clothe of gold for sondaies, p's. *viiij^{li}*.
- It'm ij copes of oone suyte of baudekyn for the quere the orfeis chekkide, p's. *viiij. m're*.
- It'm ij childes copes for sant Nicholas w^t j myter j tonycele j cheseble and iij feble aubes for childer and a crose for the bysshope, p's. *xl^s*.
- It'm j rede vestymente of baudekyn w^t j stole j fanon of the same suyte and j corpar^r of the same suyte p'tenyng to the rode auter, p's. *xxvjs. viij^d*.
- It'm j vestymment of double satane grene w^t j stole j fanone p'tenyng to Sant Dunston autre, p's. *xxs*.
- It'm j vestymente of rede and white silke w^t j stole w^t j fanone, p's. *xxs*.
- It'm j vestymente of blew baudekyn and redde w^t lilles and j cor'pas of the same lakkyng stole and fanon, p's. *xxs*.
- It'm iij cheseples of borde alisaundre for feriall daies of oon suyte w^t iij stoles ij fanons of the same, p's. *vjs. viij^d*.
- It'm iij aubes and iij amytt^s w^toute p'aris p's. *xxvjs. viij^d*.
- It'm dyvers amytt^s iij ij clothes of golde w^t dyvers coloures rede and blewe velvete w^t ihc in the myddes and wroghte w^t the c and m of golde and j quare of rede velvete w^t j wrethe of vyn leves, p's. *xxxij^s. iij^d*.
- It'm j caase w^t j corpar of blew velvete, p's. *iiij^s*.
- It'm ij cases w^t ij corporas of velvete blewe and rede w^t a sone in the myddes and ihc therein, p's. *xxs*.
- It'm j case w^t j corporas of rede clothe of golde, p's. *iiij^s*.
- It'm j case w^t j corporas w^t raggede staves of gold, p's. *xij^s. iij^d*.
- It'm j case w^towut corporas the tone syde blewe welvet and the oder side — p's. *xs*.
- It. j case w^t j corporas of grene velvet upon velvete w^t olyve branches powdrede w^t golde, p's. *xij^s. iij^d*.
- It'm j case w^t j corporas chekkid w^t grene and yelowc, p's. *xij^d*.
- It'm j feble case w^t j corporas of silke rede and blewe, p's. *xij^d*.
- It'm iij feble cases w^toute corporas.
- It'm j fruntell for the hy auter of blake and grene welvete wroghte w^t flowres in rede p'tye, p's. *xs*.
- It'm iij fruntels of blak of one suyte wroghte w^t yve leves of golde, p's. *iiij^{li}*.
- It'm j frontell of rede velvete to our lady auter on the northe side, p's. *vjs. viij^d*.
- It'm j frontell of blake w^t white crosses, p's. *xs*.
- It'm j frontell of blewe embrowdede w^t rede roses, p's. *xx^d*.
- It'm j frontell blew betyne w^t crownes of golde for the rode autre, p's. *viij^d*.
- It'm iij feble pelons iij grene and j rede and yelowc, p's. *iijs. iij^d*.
- It'm j clothe steyned w^t an ymage of oure lady in the myddes and oder dyvers on ev'y side ymages for the table at the hy auter, p's. *xxs*.

- It'm j clothe steynede for the hy aut' w' an ymage of Sant Anne and ij maris w' a frontell of the same suyte w' postele hedes, p's. vs.
- It'm ij ridelles of the same suyte w' aungell, p's. xs.
- It'm ij ridelles of blew betyne w' keys of golde and silver, p's. xvjs.
- It'm ij clothes steynede of grene betyne w' dyvers ymages of gold for the auter of Sant Dunstane and ij ridelles w' aungels of the same suyte betyn, p's. xls.
- It'm j clothe steyned of blewe and rede colours w' roses of golde w' ij ridelles of the same longynge to our lady auter, p's. xs.
- It'm j clothe steyned blake and rede w' mary and john and j clothe steyned of the same w' an ymage of our lady kat'yn and margette and j clothe of the same suyte w' Sante Elyn in myddes holdynge the crosse w' a scriptur of the fraternyte and ij ridelles w' aungels of the same suyte, all thes clothes w' j clothe of the same suyte be hynde our lady ou' the chaunsell doore longynge to the rode auter, p's. iiij. m'rc.
- It'm j frontell steyned and j case for j corporas steynede and ij pair candelstykes of laton to the same auter, p's. xs.
- It'm j pair candelstikkis of laton to Sante Dunstone, p's. iijjs.
- It'm j rede clothe of golde clepide the Deske clothe, p's. xxjs. iiij*d*.
- It'm j deske clothe of rede tapesrye worke w' keys, p's. iiijjs.
- It'm v quishshons of tapesrye rede w' keyis, p's. v*d*. viij*d*.
- It'm j clothe of golde of divers colours w' egles and jeweles, p's. vjs. viij*d*.
- It'm j clothe of golde the colour rede and white w' trese and birdes and the armes of Robert Walter goldsmythe, p's. xxs.
- It'm j clothe of blake betyne w' ostriche fedres of silver w' j Deske clothe of the same suyte and ij ridelles of the same, p's. vs.
- It'm j clothe of blake longynge to the beme w' dyv'rs armes of lordes, p's. vs.
- It'm j clothe bete w' golde for corp' x'pi day w' an ymage of the Trynyte, p's. xxxs.
- It'm ij baners betyn w' golde and w' ymages of Pet' and Poule and oder ymages of our lady and john Ev'ngeliste, p's. xls.
- It'm ij baners of rede j betyn w' the kyngs armes and the toder w' lyons yalowe, p's. xxvjs. viij*d*.
- It'm j baner w' the armes of the Duc of lancastre, p's. vjs. viij*d*.
- It'm j baner w' the armes of the Erle of Salesburye, p's. ijs.
- It'm j baner w' j swane of silver, p's. ijs.
- It'm j baner of blew tarteron w' Sant Edwardes armes, p's. iijjs. iiij*d*.
- It'm j baner w' iij lyons of golde w' a labell, p's. ijs.
- It'm j penone w' sante george armes and the kynges, ps. ijs.
- It'm j penone w' the kynges armes w' a labele, p's. vjs. viij*d*.
- It'm j baner w' the armes of the Duc of launsone, ps. xijjs. iii*d*.
- It'm j gitton of red w' the sone of golde and an herte in the mydds, p's. vs.
- It'm j rede penone w' j lyon rampande of silver, p's. xs.
- It'm j penone of worstede rede and yelowe, p's. x*d*.
- It'm j penon of rede w' sante andrew crosse of silver, p's. vjs. viij*d*.
- It'm j baner of grey tartaryn w' popygeys, p's. iijjs. iiij*d*.
- It'm j clothe steynede w' dyvers ymages for the table at the hy auter for feriall daies, p's. vjs. viij*d*.

It'm j steynede clothe w^t j crucifix in the mydds w^t pet' and poule a for the hy auter for ferial daies, p's. iijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm ij clothes steynede w^t ij ridelles of the same suete w^t angels the grounde rede clothe of gold w^t birdes and the armes of Rob^t. Walton and he his ij wyves and his sonnes beyng therin at the auter of S. Dunstone, p's. iiij. m^{re}.
 It'm ij clothes steynede w^t ij ridelles of the same for ferial daies at the same auter, p's. xijjs. iiij*d*.
 It'm j carpette to lay be for the same auter, p's. iijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe steyned w^t ij ridels of the same longynge to our lady auter for ferial daies, p's. vs.
 It'm xiiij banerstones, p's. viijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm j vestymnt of silke blake and grene w^t floures w^t j blewe orfrey of clothe of golde longynge to Sant Dunstones auter, p's. xls.
 It'm ij aubes for ferial daies w^t poures, p's. xijjs. iiij*d*.
 It'm j botell of peautre and j paire of cruetts to the rode autre, p's. viij*d*.

VESTES QUADRAGESIMALES, FO. 175.

Ffirste j veile steynede w^t j crosse of rede for lente in the quere, p's. xijjs. iiij*d*.
 It'm ij clothes steynede of the same suyte a boue the hy auter and j clothe of the same be for the auter w^t ij ridelles of the same suyte, p's. xxxijjs. iiij*d*.
 It'm ij clothes w^t rede crosses for Pet' and Poule to kyner heme in lente, p's. iijs. iiij*d*.
 It'm ij clothes of the same suyte w^t crosses and ij ridels for the auter of our lady, p's. xs.
 It'm ij clothes of the same suyte w^t ij ridels for the auter of Sant Dunston, p's. xs.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte for the roode in lente, p's. xij*d*.
 It'm j clothe for the roode auter, p's. xij*d*.
 It'm j deske clothe of the same suyte and ihc in the mydds, p's. xij*d*.
 It'm j deske clothe of the suyte w^t an hede, p's. xij*d*.
 It'm j clothe for the crosse of the same suyte, p's. xij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte for sant john baptiste, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte w^t lilyes in the myde, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte w^t j lre of . m . crownede for our lady, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte w^t j suerd and j whele, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte w^t j castell for s. barbara, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte w^t j pair bedes for S. Sythe, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte w^t a hede of S. Dunston, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of the same suyte w^t j myter for S. Nicholas, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe for S. Anne, p's. iiij*d*.
 It'm j clothe of rede lyyng be for the hy auter, p's. xvj*d*.
 It'm iiij vestymnts of white of oone suyte for lente w^t stoles and fanons of the same, p's. xls.
 It'm j judas for to holde torches endes in, p's. xvj*d*.
 It'm ij canvases for the hy auter oon a boue and the toder nexte the heire, p's. xvj*d*.
 It'm j canvas for oure lady auter a bowe, vj*d*.

It'm ij clothes of carde for Sante Dunston and Sante Kat'yn, p's. —
 It' ij clothes of carde for the chauncell for corpus x'pi day w't j stenyde
 clothe, p's. xxs.
 It' j son for the same — ijs.
 It' j canapy steyned w' iiij staves and iiij boles of golde and iiij faynes
 and j clothe for the sepulchre steynede, p's. xxvjs. viij*d*.
 It' j herse for the sepulchre and iiij aungels therto, p's. iiij*l*.

VESTES PRO ALTARIBUS, FO. 175, VERSO.

Ffirste j auter clothe diapede contenyng ij elnes & j quart'
 It'm j aut' clothe diapede contenyng iiij Elles & j quart'
 It'm j aut' clothe diapede co'tenyng ij Elles
 It'm j auter clothe diapede contenyng ij Elles & j quart'
 [Six similar entries follow.]
 It'm j playn aut' clothe feble contenyng iiij Elles & j quart'
 [Four similar entries follow.]
 It' j diapede cloth conteynyng. v. elles
 It' j diapede cloth conteynyng iiij elles & di.

LIBRI, FO. 173.

[I have condensed this list for the sake of brevity.]

i pryncipall missale, and four others; j eun'gele, *i.e.*, evangelarium;
 j pryncypall antiphoner, and two others; j porthoys, and two others;
 j p'ncipall legende; j pryncypal grayle, and four others: j p'cessional,
 and three others; j collectorie, and one other; j manuell, and two
 others: j ordynall, and one other; j littell trop'; j marty'loge; j Psalt'm
 j Portiforium; j Dyrge boke tyed w't a cheyne of yren; a pryk songe
 book.

JOCALIA, FO. 172.

Ffirste j coupe of silver and ou'gilte for goddis body and j box of silver
 w't in the same veynge of troy xxxj vnc' pris viij*l*.
 It'm iiij bot'ons of silver hongynge a boutte the said coupe clepid the
 dome, p's. ijs.
 It'm iiij bot'ons of silver, p's. xxd.
 It'm j chales of silver and ou'gilte w't j patyn w't j ymage weyng xxj vnc.
 j. quart', p's. cs.
 It'm j chales of silver and ou'gilte j patyn w't the holy lombe weyng xiiij
 vnc, p's. v marc.
 It'm j chales of silver and ou'gilte w't j patyn w't j honde weyng xvij
 vnc. j. qrt. p's. iiij*l*.
 It'm j chales of silver p'cele gilte w't j patyn weyng xij vnc. iij. qrt. p's.
 xijs.
 It'm j chales of silver p'cele gilte j patyn weyng xij vnc. p's. xliijs.
 viij*l*.
 It'm j morse of silver p'cele gilte weyng xiiij vnc. di. p's. xls.
 It'm j sshipe w't j spone of silver weyng xj vnc. p's. xls.
 It'm j pair censures of silver weyng of troy vijlb. iij vnc. di. p's. xij*l*.
 It'm j crosse of golde w't j peece of the crosse of Cryste w't in the same
 garneshede w't perry and oder stones veyng vij vnc. j quart' di. w't j
 ffoote of silver & ou'gilte weyng vij. vnc. di. p's. xlii.

- It'm j cofre of silver for the same weynge xvij vnc. j quart', p's. xliijs.
 It'm j crysmatorye of silver weynge w^t the stuffe there in xx. vnc. di.
 p's. iij^{li}. xs.
 It'm j Relike stondynge on j foote and j lyttell box of silver weynge in
 all v. vnc. j. quart, p's. xxs.
 It'm j crosse of birell garnesshede w^t silver veynge xxx. vnc'. di. p's.
 vij^{li}.
 It'm j double crosse veynge j. vnc'. di. p's. iijs.
 It'm j box of yuery garnesshed w^t silv' w^t relikes
 It'm j pax brede of cop' ou'gilte, p's. vs.
 It'm j ball of coper ou'gilte, p's. ijs. iiij^d.
 It' j crosse of cop' ou'gilte w^t j tre to the same to be borne, p's. xxs.
 It'm ij tresse silvered w^t pomels o'gilte to the crosses, p's. vjs. viij^d.
 It'm ij candelstykk of laton, p's. vs.
 It'm j halyewat' stope of laton and j sensur of laton, p's. vjs. viij^d.
 It'm ij olde candelstykk of peautre, p's. ijs.
 It'm j botell for wyne and ij paire cruetts, p's. ijs.
 It'm j Table paynted w^t ij leves w^t the dome on and j ymage of our
 lady, ijs. iiij^d.
 It' j table paynted w^t ij leves w^t j ymage of the Trynyte in the
 mydds
 It'm j table paynted w^t ij leves w^t j ymage of our lady in the mydds
 w^t the salutacon, p's. xij^s. iiij^d.
 It'm ij lyttel paxbreds of tre
 It' j houselyngebell
 It'm j table w^t ij leves w^t antenes of our lady, p's. vs. viij^d.
 It'm ij boxes of silver weynge ij vnccs. di. p's. xs.
 It' j coupe of silver ou'gyld w^t a cou'cle & a crosse w^t c'cifixe a'nexed to
 y^e cou'cle yggyf by Graunt ffruther but y^t crosse was ysetton by Down
 Chirchwirdeyn costes of y^e chirche
 [The last item is added in another hand.]

GLOSSARY OF A FEW OF THE HARDER WORDS OCCURRING IN THE ABOVE
 INVENTORY.

Amytts, amice; *bawdakyne*, silk; *beten* or *betyne*, worked, embroidered; *borde alisaundre*, perhaps a border of alexanders, i.e., the horse parsley, hipposelinum; *corpar*, the corporas, corporalis palla, or corporal; *deske clothe*, hanging for the lectern; *fan'on*, maniple; *gitton*, a guidon, small banner or streamer; *grayle*, gradual; *grenehounde*, grehound, or greshound, leporarius; *heire*, higher; *kenett*, a small hound, perhaps a harrier, though the kenett was also used in chasing the deer and wild boar; *lib'des*, leopards; *orfeis*, orphrey, a band or border of embroidery; *p'aris*, parure; *paxbrede*, or paxborde, the pax or osculatorium; *peautre*, pewter; *pelon*, perhaps a pall; *perry*, jewels; *porthois*, portiforium, breviarium; *pynn*, penner; *quissjons*, cushions; *ridelles*, curtains; *tartaryn*, a kind of silk (Halliwell); *tre*, wood; *trop'*, troparius, or hymnarius.

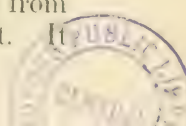
ON A WOOD CARVING BY ALBERT DURER.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

To declare in the nineteenth century that the biography of Albert Durer—one of the greatest artists the world ever knew, whose talent was only equalled by the nobility of his character and the piety of his life—has yet to be written, ere the clouds which time, ignorance, and carelessness combined have permitted to rest upon his personal history can be dissipated, would seem a needless and unfounded reproof of art. Nevertheless, the fact remains in all its breadth and force, and, what is scarcely more remarkable, posterity has hitherto been content to remain satisfied with those absurd and silly fables connected with the illustrious artist, which have all but choked the truth, and thereby concealed his principal claim to the admiration and respect of posterity.

As a painter, the knowledge of his works is necessarily confined to a comparatively limited circle, the general public being compelled to rely on the descriptions given of them, according to the views of each particular writer.

As an engraver, however, his reputation is based on a much wider field, there being but few admirers of genuine talent who do not either possess some specimens, or at least readily acknowledge their excellence. His engravings, indeed, are as well known as imperfectly comprehended. A glance at them can hardly fail to satisfy and delight the eye, but to arrive at their true meaning, and to unravel the depths and beauties of his allegories is altogether another question, which three hundred and fifty years have not sufficed to solve.

One distinguishing characteristic of this great man was, that whatever he attempted he excelled in. Engraving in all its branches, carving in marble, hone-stone, or wood, modelling for goldsmiths and sculptors, designing for tapestry, leathern hangings, or glass windows, as well as painting, were all familiar to him; and yet, astounding as the fact may appear, *he was self taught in all*,—at least it must now be so taken, as the ingenuity of man has hitherto utterly failed in naming with certainty a single person from whom he derived instruction in any one branch of art. 

is true that Michael Wohlgemuth, of Nuremberg, has been selected as the artist from whom he learnt painting, but without the slightest pretence for the assertion, inasmuch as, notwithstanding the long list of Wohlgemuth's *supposed* works, *he never painted a single picture in his life*; and, paradoxical as it may seem, it is nevertheless strictly true, that, when on St. Andrew's Day, 1486, Albert Durer was, to use his own words, "placed under the orders of Michael Wohlgemuth for three years," he was, at that very moment, his master—in the sense of being far more advanced in the business for which he was to be apprenticed than Wohlgemuth himself. The subject is full of interest, and well deserving the most serious attention. On the present occasion, however, it must suffice to state that, bearing in mind the indefatigable industry of Durer, his continuous improvement, and the hearty zeal he evinced in his devotion for art, it hardly needs anything more to dispose of the idea that Durer was placed under Wohlgemuth's orders for three years, to learn *painting as an art*, than to mention the highly significant but unquestionable fact that, although he was so apprenticed in 1486, it was not until 1497, eleven years afterwards, that we know of a single picture from his hands, the very first being a portrait of his father, in a black cap and orange coloured fur garment, now in the collection of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland at Sion House.

The particular feature in Durer's talent to which on this occasion I desire to draw your attention is as a "*carver in wood*." Precious as every relic of this remarkable man undoubtedly is, it follows as a natural sequence that wherever the slightest pretension exists which will justify the attribution of a wood carving to his hand, it is eagerly embraced, and pertinaciously adhered to. Despite, however, this "attributory weakness," the wood carvings *yet* declared to be those of Durer are remarkably few in number, and may be enumerated in a very short space. Thus, in the Museum at *Gotha* are two statuettes of "Adam and Eve"; at *Munich*, "Two Madonnas" (*bas reliefs*), dated 1515 and 1516; and at *Brunswick*, a "St. John Preaching in the Desert." The Royal and Imperial collections at Dresden, Paris, and Vienna also lay claim to possessing wood carvings by Durer, but with no stronger pretensions than those works now to be

seen at the "South Kensington Museum," and respectively numbered (in the *Official Catalogue* of 1860, pages 13 and 14) 228, 229, 244, 245, and 254, none of which, however, are declared to be the *actual productions of Dürer*; the idea being allowed to rest either upon their bearing his well-known initials, or being *attributed* to him.

It may here be convenient to state that, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, German artists were in the habit of signing or identifying their works under the form of a "Rebus"; and Dürer, in his earliest productions, adopted that custom, not merely limiting its use as a monogram, but taking it as his "armorial bearings," and even as his name. The play on his name was "Thürer" instead of Dürer (Thür signifying a door.) He accordingly adopted an open door as his coat of arms, and prior to 1498, distinguished his engravings and other works in the same manner, as well as signed his name "Thürer."

An illustration of that habit may be found in his first picture, already mentioned, at the back of which the following words appear in his writing:—"1497, Albrecht Thürer der Elter und alt 70 Jor."

The "wood carving" which I am now dilating upon, is an object of art possessing within itself as many distinctive attractions as can well be embraced *in any single work*.

1. Although from its style and admirable excellence it cannot be considered by any means as the first wood carving Dürer ever made, certain it is that nothing is known from his hand at an earlier date. 2. It was carved in 1494, the year in which he, emancipated from his apprenticeship, commenced his career as a master, and took the most important step in his existence by marrying the much and unfairly abused Agnes Frey. 3. It is the *first known* representation of his justly celebrated subject, "*The Visitation*." 4. It bears his distinctive "*Rebus*." 5. It is carved on a piece of the mahogany brought by Christopher Columbus on his return from discovering the West India Islands. And lastly, it is believed to be the only art-carving in mahogany in existence.

It is but seldom that at this distance of time (374 years) a work of such importance can be identified with Dürer, and satisfactorily accounted for; and still more rare to be able to explain the motive and circumstances which led to

its production, and then to trace its possession to the present period. In this instance, however, the facts connected with it are fortunately simple and conclusive.

Few friendships exist on record more sincere or durable than that between Martin Behaim, of Nuremberg, and Christopher Columbus. To Columbus and his ancestry it is needless on this occasion to refer, but a few words upon Martin Behaim *may* be of interest, as bearing upon the subject which now demands our attention.

As far back as the thirteenth century, the family of Behaim was established at Nuremberg, and ranked in the sixteenth century amongst the most distinguished patricians of that town, and continued so to a very late period.

Martin Behaim being intended for the sea, left Nuremberg at an early age. In 1481 he arrived at Portugal, and soon afterwards attained high repute at the Court of Lisbon for his intelligence—he having been appointed as one of the Council to improve the art of navigation, in which capacity he brought the “astrolabe” into nautical use.

During his stay in Portugal and Fayal (where, in 1486, he married the daughter of Job de Huertar, who colonised that island in 1466), his acquaintance with Columbus commenced. Both were renowned as great navigators, and a friendship soon sprung up between them, of such intimacy as to induce them to frequently confer upon the best means of attaining their common object. So identified, indeed, were their names as navigators, that for nearly two centuries, Germany, in the name of Martin Behaim, claimed the honour of his having discovered America instead of Columbus. In course of time, however, that idea was satisfactorily proved to have been erroneous, and the honour was duly ascribed to Columbus alone, with whom Behaim remained up to the eve of his starting on his first voyage of discovery.

In 1491-2 Martin Behaim (during the absence of Columbus) paid a visit to his family at Nuremberg, the head of which at that period was his elder brother, John Behaim, then architect to the Emperor Maximilian. During his stay there, Martin Behaim made that drawing of the globe which has since attained so much notoriety, and given rise to so many discussions. A copy of that *drawing* I shall be able to lay before you.

Martin Behaim left Nuremberg on his return to Portugal in 1493, and was at Lisbon when Columbus arrived at Cintra on the 4th March in that year.

As is historically recorded, Columbus brought with him specimens of the products of the newly discovered countries, birds, seeds, flowers, and woods; and, amongst the latter, some pieces of mahogany. As may very naturally be imagined, and as the fact was, he presented a selection of each to his friend Behaim, who evinced his appreciation of the interesting gift by confiding the whole to the care of his brother John at Nuremberg, at which town it safely arrived, and was there preserved for many generations.

As already stated, Albert Durer returned to Nuremberg on the completion of his apprenticeship in 1494, and among the friends he there found to welcome him was the before-mentioned Johan Behaim, who was then engaged in erecting stables for the Emperor at the Imperial Castle in that town.

Whether it was that John Behaim desired to ascertain the fitness of the newly discovered wood for art purposes, or to preserve it in an ornamental form as a *souvenir* of the most interesting event of the age, certain it is that he entrusted it to Albert Durer with directions to "turn it to good account." How far Durer realised those directions, you will presently have an opportunity of judging.

The disadvantages the young artist had to contend with were by no means few, nor were they decreased by the fact that the material to be worked upon was wholly new to him, and precious in the eyes of his friend. His subject, moreover, had to be selected, designed, and dealt with so as to suit the peculiar shape and the size of the wood to be carved, which proved (as can now be readily ascertained) to be exceedingly ill adapted for the desired purpose. There being, however, no choice, or second piece to select from, Durer was left to surmount his task as best he could. The subject he selected was, as before mentioned, "The Visitation," which in after years he used as one of his illustrations in his "Life of the Virgin."

His first drawing for that illustration is to be found in the well-known and precious collection of the Archduke Albrecht at Vienna, a fac-simile of which I now lay before you, as well as a fine impression from his finished wood engraving of the Vienna sketch. A careful comparison of the

three will be of interest, as showing the numerous variations Durer made in his work as it progressed.

Another singular fact is worthy of note, viz., the slab of mahogany being in the form of a parallelogram, the "Thür" or door-way on the left was balanced by a tree on the right. When, however, Durer subsequently (1508) had to alter the shape of the subject, and was to make it uniform in size with the other illustrations to the "Life of the Virgin," he was obliged to divide the figure of one of the women attending the Virgin in two, and to altogether omit the tree.

At the Episcopal Seminary at Bruges they show with great pride an alto-relievo of the "Visitation," carved in *speckstein*, or hone-stone, and which they declare to be the work of Durer, and unique in Belgium. From its exact resemblance, however, to the woodcut of the same subject in Durer's "Life of the Virgin," it is far more probable that it is the work of some clever but patient copyist, than the production of the great artist, considering the demand on his time and attention at the period it is supposed he made this carving.

It only remains to mention that this interesting proof of Durer's talent remained in the Behaim family until the commencement of the present century, when it became a portion of the celebrated collection of the late Mr. Heinlein, of Nuremberg, from which it was obtained.

Proceedings of the Association.

11 MARCH, 1868.

T. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following member was announced :

Henry Barrett, Esq., Wentere House, Bromley, Guildford.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

To the Author, M. Ch. Roessler, for *Aperçu sur les Représentations sculptées de Danses Macabres, et sur le Cloître du Cimetière de Montvilliers.* 8vo., 1867.

„ „ Ralph Carr, Esq., S.A.Sc., for an *Essay on the Symbolism of the Sculptured Stones of Scotland.* 8vo., 1867.

„ „ William Sedgwick Saunders, M.D., for *Sketches from the History of Medicine, being the Oration delivered before the Hunterian Society.* Small 8vo., 1867.

Mr. E. Roberts exhibited some sharks' teeth discovered in a bed of coprolites at Oxford.

Mr. Syer Cuming made observations upon forgeries of keys, pilgrims' signs, and other articles, brought from the neighbourhood of Bristol, and exhibited by Robert Laing, Esq.

Mr. J. W. Bailly exhibited a disc-shaped bead from a rosary, of the fifteenth century. It is full seven-eighths of an inch in diameter, formed of grayish black terra-cotta, and bears on one side the head of the Saviour with a cruciferous nimbus composed of fleurs-de-lys, bringing to mind an example given in this *Journal*, x, 353. On the opposite side of the disc is the head of an aged person with apparently rays of light arising from the forehead, and perhaps intended for Moses. The field of this disc is decorated with tendrils. This curious bead was evidently pressed in a mould, and the earth of which it is made was in all likelihood obtained from some hallowed spot. It was recovered from Thames mud, near Queenhithe, Feb. 1868.

W. T. Hiff, Esq., M.D., transmitted for exhibition a knitting-sheath with chain, swivel, and hook; the whole being thirteen inches and a

quarter long, and carved out of a single piece of beech wood. The obelisk-shaped sheath has a socket at the apex for the pin. The centre is cut through, but leaving a ball to roll within the open space; and the sides are incised with a heart, flowers, rhombs, etc., and the initials F. G. and I. C., together with the date 1722. There is a carved notch near the base to admit the apron-string by which the implement was secured to the side of the knitter, the great hook at the end of the chain being for the wool.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said the curious object submitted by Dr. Iliff brought to his recollection a few specimens of allied character. In the Doucean Museum at Goodrich Court is a spoon, the handle of which represents St. George, St. Michael, and other saints, with the date 1687, attached to a chain decorated at intervals with human heads; the whole measuring four feet seven inches in length, and carved out of one piece of wood. In the *Catalogue of the Rarities to be seen at Don Saltero's Coffee House in Chelsea* (40th ed., p. 5), mention is made of "a curious tobacco-stopper and chain cut out of the solid wood by a shepherd," and "a curious knitting-sheath and chain cut out of the solid wood by a shepherd."

Mr. Cuming believes he saw these two items, some years since, in the shop of a curiosity dealer named Willis, who formerly resided in Chancery-lane; one, if not both of which, was dated in the seventeenth century; and Mr. Cuming produced a knitting-sheath of this period, reported to be the work of an English shepherd. It is of beech wood, eight inches and three-eighths in length; the apex representing a human head with close fitting cap, through which is the pin-socket. The quadrangular stem is cut away so as to leave four pillars, within which play three little balls. The lower part of the stem has bevelled edges, and divided up the middle to permit its being slipped over the girdle; one half of this portion terminating in a rhomb, the other is a heart. Boldly executed chevrons are the main decoration on this very curious example. The devices on some of the old knitting-sheaths bear a singular resemblance to the emblems of saints on the old clog-almanacks.

Mrs. Dean of Brighton exhibited a portion of a finely written quarto copy of the Koran, accompanied by the following memorandum: "The MS. now produced is executed with native ink and reed pens on European paper, by Negro priests of the Mahomedan faith, and contains a number of marginal notes which add to its value. The case or cover which enfolds it is of undressed antelope skin. This very curious volume was found in a mosque on the taking of the Mahomedan town of Kinty-Kounda, in the kingdom of Baddiboo, on the river Gambia, Western Africa, on the occasion of an expedition, in January 1861, under Governor Colonel D'Arcy against the kingdom of Baddiboo for

the redress of repeated acts of plunder and other wrongs committed by the people of that country against the persons and property of British traders."

Mr. Baily exhibited an elegant dress-sword, probably of the early period of last century.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a series of knives found in Clerkenwell, their date being from the commencement to the close of the sixteenth century; also a Samian *olla*, found in Cannon-street, of a type rarely met with in this country.

Mr. Forster exhibited a small manuscript book of the *Horæ B. Mariæ Virginis*, on vellum, executed in Italy towards the close of the fifteenth century, and ornamented with miniatures and illuminated borders and initial letters. At the foot of the page next after the calendar is the following coat of arms, *az.* a cock *or*, combed and wattled *gu.*, on a chief *ar.* two estoiles of the third round, pierced of the second, impaling *or* a dexter hand and arm vested *az.* issuing from the sinister, holding a fleur-de-lis *gu.*

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson sent for exhibition Handel's tuning fork, accompanied by the following remarks:

"The tuning fork now exhibited to the Association was once the property of the immortal Handel. It now belongs to the Rev. W. J. Hall, one of the minor canons in St. Paul's Cathedral, who received it from his father, to whom it was presented by Mr. Richard Clark, one of the vicars choral of the Cathedral, a well known collector of Handelian relics. As a genuine relic of one of the greatest musicians that the world has ever known, this tuning fork will have an interest for the members of our Association. But its interest is not limited to the fact that Handel once possessed it. It forms an interesting contribution to the discussion upon the difficult question of musical pitch. The subject is of too technical a character to admit of one's dealing with it with any fulness on the present occasion. It will be sufficient to direct the attention of the associates to the Society of Arts' report upon the matter, drawn up by Mr. Hullah; and to add that chapter xxvii of *The Organ, its History and Construction*, by Edward J. Hopkins, Organist of the Temple Church, and Edward F. Rimbault, LL.D., treats of the subject so far as organ tuning is concerned.

"Handel's tuning fork is marked A: its note, however, is that which answers, as nearly as may be, to the G sharp of the present Philharmonic pitch. It may not be uninteresting to add that the organ in St. Matthew's, Friday-street, Cheapside, built by George England in 1763, exactly corresponded in its pitch to the note of Handel's tuning fork. When this organ was rebuilt in 1863, exactly a century after its construction, by Mr. J. W. Walker, under my direction, its pitch was raised to that known as the Philharmonic pitch.

"Mr. Hopkins says in the work above referred to, pp. 168-9,—‘The greater depression of the pitch soon after the commencement of the last century is manifested by the increased upward range of the notation, as is clearly demonstrated by the music of Handel and of other composers of the last century, even without the authority of Handel’s tuning fork, the existence of which further authenticates the supposition.’ He adds in a note to this passage, ‘It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that several pieces by Handel have lately (1855) been transposed into lower keys, and printed, with the view of restoring their original pitch.’

"I am informed that other tuning forks which once belonged to Handel are also in existence. This may very probably be the case. A well known musician told me, only a few days since, that he himself had probably as many as fifty tuning forks of his own; collected, I believe, with a view to illustrate the question of musical pitch.

"It may be convenient that I should recall to the recollection of the associates the dates of Handel’s birth and death. He was born 23 February, 1685, and died on Good Friday, 13 April, 1759. The dates above given are those supplied by Mr. Vincent Schœlcher in his very interesting *Life of Handel*. But Handel’s gravestone in Poets’ Corner, Westminster Abbey, bears this inscription:

‘GEORGE FREDERIC HANDEL
BORN Y^e 23. FEBRUARY 1684
DIED Y^e 14TH OF APRIL 1759.’

"As a facsimile of this gravestone is prefixed to the *Programme of Arrangements for the Third Great Triennial Handel Festival at the Crystal Palace*, June, 1868, and as this programme is now in the hands of most musical amateurs, I think it right to call attention to the discrepancy. It has not escaped the notice of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, for I find in Dean Stanley’s recently published *Historical Memorials of Westminster Abbey*, p. 309, ‘On the monument the date of his death had been originally inscribed as Saturday, April 14; it is now corrected to Good Friday, April 13, 1759.’ The Dean adds the familiar passage, so dear to all Handelians, from Burney’s *History*,—‘He had most seriously and devoutly wished, for some days before his death, that he might breathe his last on Good Friday; in hopes, he said, of meeting his good God, his sweet Lord and Saviour, on the day of his resurrection.’ There still, however, remains a discrepancy as to the date of his birth; but I think that Mr. Schœlcher’s *Life* is probably more accurate than the Westminster gravestone."

Mr. Cuming read the following paper on the St. Cadvan Stone at Towyn, Merioneth, by Ralph Carr, Esq.:

"As such works as Gough’s *Camden’s Britannia* and the *Archæologia Cambrensis* are to be found in the great continental libraries, and as

British antiquities generally are the subject of much interest with continental archaeologists, there is great danger in leaving any important epigraph or legend in Anglo-Saxon unrecognised as such by English antiquaries, and most disagreeable to have such a record read for us in a foreign country, or by foreigners here. It is great good fortune that this has not already happened as to the so called St. Cadvan Stone at Towyn.¹ To send old Norse runes to Copenhagen may be a very proper course; for being of Scandinavian origin, the characters and language ought to be best known in those countries, and hither we may rightly turn for help when we cannot interpret any Norse-runic writing. But as regards Anglo-Saxon, I own that to leave any of our runes to the interpretation of strangers does seem to me a thing to be carefully shunned; and there is as much danger in sins of omission,—that is, in shutting our eyes altogether,—as in rash speculation and hasty, premature attempts to read what is too obscure.

“But let us look at the particular instance I have ventured to mention, the old record at Towyn. I think that as it has so long been before the world in Gough’s *Camden*, and had not been claimed by Englishmen as belonging to their own ancestors, the Welsh archaeologists deserve all praise for having tried to read it as old Welsh; and I am very glad that, in regarding it as Anglo-Saxon, I take the lines in quite a different order from theirs, and also read various letters differently from theirs; so that though we are reading from the same stone, we begin with different sides of the quadrangular shaft, and again terminate with different sides; so that it is as if we were respectively dealing with perfectly distinct writing; consequently no one can say ‘here is a set of old words read by one interpreter as Welsh, and by another as Saxon.’ The answer is, they are not the same *set* of words, nor even the same words *set* differently. All this will soon be seen, though I have nothing to do with the attempt to read the writing into Welsh, further than the foregoing remarks.

“As in many cases nothing is so rash as to shut one’s eyes and do nothing, let us see whether we English readers of Gough have been guilty of such rashness; because, if so, it is time to mend it.

“The landmarks of Teutonic languages, like the Anglo-Saxon, are almost as strongly marked as the landmarks of Latin. Is this Towyn record a Latin inscription? Certainly not. Why not? Because it has not one Latin word or Latin inflection. Turn it as you will, and divide the syllables in any mode, nothing like Latin or Greek could be discovered; but the moment you try Anglo-Saxon, the second, third, and fourth lines in the first two sides of the stone declare themselves legible. The two cross-hilted daggers at the beginning of the third and fourth

¹ For notices of this stone, see Gough’s *Camden*. London, 1806, vol. iii. p. 172; and the *Archæologia Cambrensis*. New Series, 1850, vol. i. p. 81.

sides are merely *indices* shewing that, whereas the foregoing lines were read from the ground upwards, when the stone stood erect, these others are to be read from the top downwards. The inscription stands thus, the Anglo-Saxon letters being expressed in Roman capitals :

MOST TRICET
CICDE
TUAN NITANANI
AR-TENUNC DURUT (?) MARCIAU
+ CINTEN CELENG¹
+ TEN-GWUT AT MAS TETH GU-
ADGAN MC
...TU.

"In more regular Anglo-Saxon orthography the inscription would be written

MEST-TRYGTH²
CIGDE
TWAN-NIHTANENE
AR-TENDUNG THUR-UT MARCIA
+ CINTEN CELENG (CELERG, CLERIC ?)
+ TEN-GEWUT AT MAS TETH-GU
ADGAN M(e)C
(Worth) TE

"The above must be read as follows :

AR-TENUNC DURUT (?) MARCIAU
Fires of honour throughout (?) the marshes.
TUAN-NITANANI
Lasting two nights
CICDE MOST TRICET
Announced the great pacification.
Quintin Celeng (or Celerg, clerk)
Tenthing (suretymen) at Mas Teth-Gu-
Advan Me
Made or wrought.

"The dialect of this inscription is probably Mercian, the characters simply mediæval Romanesque of the Saxon subvariety, and the monument of the time of William Rufus or Henry I, when South Wales had been subdued by the barons, and was held by England. In the last century the stone was rescued from use as a gate-post, and placed by the clergyman in the church, as Gough informs us."

Mr. T. Wright said that there were several of these crosses in Wales, and they seemed to him, both in appearance and the inscriptions upon

¹ The last character in the word is so differently formed by different copyists, that its signification is uncertain.

² TRYWTH, *fœdus*, truce.—Old Dan. Trygd. Northumbrian Gospel, St. John ii, 24.

"Ne *trugude* hine seolfne him,"

Non credebat (confidebat) semetipsum eis.

MEST-TRYGTH, *maximum fœdus*, general truce.

them, to resemble crosses which he had seen in Northumberland and the Isle of Man.

Mr. Roberts called attention to the Martin Luther's ring exhibited by Mr. Edmonds at the last meeting, and pointed out the fact of a similar ring having been laid before the Society by Mr. Planché in 1855. (See p. 83 *ante*.) He fancied that there might be some variation between the two rings, and thought that further inquiry should be made into the subject.

Mr. Cuming said that the ring which Mr. Edmonds exhibited was identical in appearance with that which had been exhibited before; and Mr. Edmonds promised that he would communicate with Mr. Gauss, the banker at Vienna, who had sent it for exhibition, and in whose family it had been for two hundred and fifty years.

Mr. W. E. Allen exhibited a page from a small book illuminated by Julio Clovio. Although in an unfinished state, it bore all the characteristics of the style of that celebrated artist.

Mr. Vanderpant read the following supplementary observations upon the Etruscan sarcophagus exhibited by him (see pp. 80-82 *ante*):

"I previously stated that the sarcophagus I exhibited was exhumed about two years ago. I have since learnt that my statement was incorrect. It was discovered in the Necropolis of St. Pietro at Perugia in August 1853; but very soon disappeared with its finder, and neither the one nor the other has since been heard of in the papal territories. I may here remark that its disappearance was not to be wondered at, as the papal laws are somewhat similar to our own with regard to treasure trove, various officers being appointed to look after, and take charge of, in the interest of the government, any object that may be discovered. Besides this, an especial incentive was furnished to purloin this work, as only a few years previously the Russian government purchased for the Museum de l'Ermitage at St. Petersburg, at a cost of 100,000 francs (£4000), a very similar monument,—a full account of which may be found in the Transactions of the Institute of Archæology of Rome. I regret that the limited time at my disposal has prevented me furnishing you with the means of referring to the volume in question; but any member may gratify his curiosity by a visit to the Library of the South Kensington Museum.

"The possession of this sarcophagus has been traced to one Peter Rusca, a Florentine lawyer, to whom it was pledged as a security for a loan of 5000 francs (£200), with a stipulation that none of the circumstances connected with its discovery should be divulged during the life of the finder. Looking at the value of the pledge, the sum advanced was small indeed; but it must be remembered that the political condition of Italy previous to 1859 would fully account for the necessity of great secrecy relative to such an affair; so that the lawyer must have

been well satisfied on the subject to have advanced the amount he did. Previous to the death of Peter Rusca, which occurred about four years since, he entrusted the whole secret to his son, Antonio Rusca, now in Soro, near Monte Varchi, Tuscany, who in turn has communicated to one other his information; the result of which caused the Marquis Campana, one of the greatest archæologists in Italy, after a most subtle and patient investigation of the matter, to pronounce it veritably unique.

"Since the decease of the elder Rusca it has passed into the hands of the antiquarian, Signor Egidi; from his to Messrs. Riblet; and from them to the present owner, by whom it has been transmitted to me to take charge of until claimed by a relative of his."

Mr. Roberts observed that the meeting must be very thankful to Mr. Vanderpant for bringing before it this sarcophagus, and for the trouble he had taken in collecting facts to elucidate its history. He thought, however, that nothing which had yet been stated respecting it would demonstrate its claim to be considered a genuine object of antiquity, while its appearance and general characteristics appeared to him at least to indicate its spuriousness. As to the fact of the Russian government having purchased a similar monument, that was no proof of the genuineness of the one before them; as it was not impossible for Russian antiquaries to be deceived by a well executed forgery, any more than it was for the antiquaries of other countries; for it had been frequently proved, and very recently in France, that antiquaries are by no means infallible. He hoped soon to be able to lay before them some correspondence which would help to clear up the matter.

Mr. E. Levien remarked that the name of Tanaquil appearing on the sarcophagus had led to the supposition that it might have contained the bones of the wife of Tarquinius Priscus. The Count Giancarlo Conestabile, however, in his *Scrizione Etrusche e Etrusco-Latine*, argued that Tanaquil was merely a title of honour, and not necessarily a *prænomen*; and that as the Tuscan *Lars* answers to *Caius*, so *Tanaquil* answered to *Caia*. Hence, as many urns and sarcophagi have the word Tanaquil upon them, this word in the present instance by no means proved the antiquity claimed for this sarcophagus. Dennis, in his *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*, adopts the same line of argument, and instances several monuments with the name of Tanaquil. With regard to the appearance of the sarcophagus, although he had great respect for the judgment of the Marquis Campana, yet he could not help differing from him on this occasion, and agreeing with Mr. Roberts and others who doubted its genuineness, and thought that it was a cast of a terra-cotta tomb.

Mr. Baily thought it might have been cast from a wooden model.

Mr. Cuming exhibited an ancient British snow-knife, and read some observations upon it, which will be found at pp. 125-128 *ante*.

25TH MARCH.

T. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following members was announced :

Lord Thomas Clinton, 13, Marlborough Hill, St. John's Wood.

Henry Moore, Esq., The Grange, Leominster.

Thanks were returned

To the Author, Ralph Carr, Esq., for an Orthographic Map of Northumberland.

The Rev. E. Kell forwarded for exhibition some spurious antiquities which had been purchased by an acquaintance of his at Portsea, with a request for information as to the place of their manufacture, it having been asserted by some that they were made at Birmingham; while others, again, thought that they came from Paris.

Mr. Cuming said that they were neither of Parisian nor Birmingham origin, but were made in the neighbourhood of the Minories in London; and many of the members might recollect that some of the fabricators have more than once "got into trouble." He thought, however, that some of the most recent examples might be of foreign manufacture, as some had been remarkably well executed, and indicated more antiquarian knowledge than had been apparent in the former impostures.

Mr. E. Levien read the following letter addressed to him by E. Roberts, Esq., upon the subject of Mr. Vanderpant's Etruscan bronze sarcophagus :

"25, Parliament-street. 25 March, 1868.

"MY DEAR SIR,—As I am unable to attend the meeting of the Archæological Association this evening, I am under the necessity of asking you to read this letter.

"After Mr. Vanderpant's exhibition of the Etruscan monument on the 26th February, I sent a photograph to a friend who is a collector in Florence, and another to Sir Gardner Wilkinson. I also took an opportunity of consulting my brother, who has excavated at many Etruscan cemeteries. Both my brother and Sir Gardner hesitated to offer any opinion without examining the object itself, and it happened in both their cases that they were prevented seeing it. From my brother I learned a good deal about the system of fabrication of antiquities in Florence; and he has himself been over the *atelier* of the notorious Frippi,—an honour which no other Englishman has attained to.

"Since the last meeting, on the 11th March, I have received from my friend in Florence a letter which justifies me in the doubts I have expressed at the meeting, and leads me to think that the Russian specimen is not a genuine antiquity.

"I can but add an extract from the letter of my friend, whose name, under the circumstances, I cannot announce.

"I am, my dear Levien, yours faithfully,

"E. ROBERTS, HON. SEC.

"E. LEVIEN, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., HON. SEC."

“*Extract.*—‘Yours of the 29th Feb. reached me on the 6th March, two days over time. The photograph you enclosed gave a better idea of the urn about which you request my opinion, than any description could; but without seeing it, I think it impossible for any one to decide whether it is genuine or not. I can, however, tell you that report speaks very badly of it in Florence; and that I should think a long time before buying it for myself, and I have heard that at Rome it was declared a forgery. I know Signor Oblieght, who is the owner of it.’”

Mr. George Wright remarked that although, during the discussions upon the sarcophagus and the cinerary bronze urn that had accompanied it, many doubts had been expressed as to their genuineness, yet no decided opinion had been given upon the former, and nothing whatever had been said about the latter. He thought, therefore, that it would be satisfactory if some well qualified member would state generally what he thought about each of the objects which had been exhibited by Mr. Vanderpant. There was also a leaden tray inside the sarcophagus, and he thought an opinion should also be given with regard to that.

Mr. Cuming said that, from his first inspection of the sarcophagus he had always thought it spurious. Of course it was neither advisable nor possible to give an *ex cathedrâ* opinion upon such a subject; but he had very little hesitation in saying that in its general appearance it did not realise the antiquity claimed for it. Its colour, and other points which he need not specify, led him to disbelieve in its genuineness. He thought that the figure at the top was not a cast, but that it was a copy from some original; but whatever it was, certainly much of the ornamentation on the bottom part of the sarcophagus did not at all correspond with it; and whoever made it certainly appeared to be without much knowledge of the “unities,” so to speak, of archæology. Thus, one of the ornaments on its exterior was a vessel of the period of about 500 B.C., whilst another was of about 150 B.C. There was also a bough-pot, which might have been copied from printed books of the last century. He was therefore compelled to dissent, however unwillingly, from the learned antiquaries who had thought favourably of it. He also disbelieved in the leaden cist or tray, but entertained quite a different opinion about the urn. That, he had no doubt, was genuine, and he should assign to it a date of about B.C. 150.

Mr. Holt exhibited a bronze medal, which Mr. Cuming said was a pass-ticket to a *bordello* of the seventeenth century. Mr. Cuming also stated that he had seen in the British Museum and in other collections little leaden tokens, with devices, which left no doubt on the mind that they were issued from like establishments in Southwark.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a portion of a monumental brass which he had lately purchased in the shop of a dealer in London. It consisted of two groups of children, three boys and three girls. The

girls are represented as wearing the "Paris head," from which their long, flowing hair escapes, hanging down as low as the knees. The boys wear a tightly fitting coat with long skirts, like the dress worn by the boys at Christ's Hospital. The date of the work must be between 1550 and 1580. But the chief point of interest in the specimen exhibited consisted in the fact that the brass was one of the class called palimpsest. At the back of the plate on which the group of boys was engraved were the remains of an earlier group of at least seven male children, from whose dress it was clear that they had formed part of a memorial laid down about the year 1500.

Mr. Sparrow Simpson next called attention to a very interesting notice on the subject of palimpsest brasses in the Rev. Herbert Haines' *Manual of Monumental Brasses* (2nd edit., 8vo., Oxford and London, 1861, pp. xlv-li), in which reference was made to a paper by A. W. Franks, Esq., on the same subject in the publications of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society.

Mr. E. Levien exhibited the head of a walking stick in exquisitely chiselled perforated iron, manufactured at Nuremberg or Augsburg circa 1560, and opening at the top with a spring. Also an iron *forceer*, or small coffer, curiously engraved with figures in costume of the period, and having a multiplying lock on the lid. This was also made at Augsburg about ten years earlier.

Mr. Cuming exhibited an ivory cane-handle of the early part of the seventeenth century, hollow in the inside; and remarked that such heads of sticks or batons as those exhibited by Mr. Levien and himself were probably made to hold pomander or pouncet-boxes, this having been their ordinary use, although he had seen some which had been for the purpose of containing a small watch or compass.

Mr. Holt exhibited an elegant iron lock, of the flamboyant Gothic style of the fourteenth century, from the "Dressoir de Sacristie" of the parish church of St. Michel, Beauvais, which had existed from the end of the eighth century to 1810, when it was demolished.

Mr. H. Watling forwarded drawings of two leaden dumps in the possession of the Rev. C. E. Searle of Stonham, exhumed in a piece of ground at the back of Pembroke College, Cambridge. The oldest looking has on one side a large cross, and on the other the letter H with crosslets, etc., about it. The second dump has on one side the initials T. C. and date 1770; and on the opposite side a palm tree, which may be compared with No. 17 of the Gurnard Bay "find" (see *Journal*, xxii, 351), and is an additional proof of the very late origin of all the Isle of Wight pieces.

Mr. S. Wood exhibited a fine, large, old comb of tortoise-shell obtained in Bombay, and said to have been worn by a rannee. It measures nine inches and a quarter in height, and five inches and three-eighths

at its greatest width. The upper part is cut into five arched feathers, and the lower into nine teeth.

Mr. Baily exhibited several articles in Samian and other wares found during the excavations in Lombard-street. They consisted of a flue-tile, a glass bottle, fragments of ollæ and pateræ; and all shewed more or less traces of having been exposed to the action of fire.

The Chairman read a letter which he had received from Mr. Dilke, sending some objects for exhibition in addition to those already forwarded by him for examination by the society. (See vol. xxiii, p. 390.) It would be better, he said, to wait till all the objects promised had arrived, and they could then discuss them *en masse*. He then read a letter which he had received from Mr. Henry T. Wake, of Cockermouth, relative to a "find" of Roman remains at Papecastle, a small village which had once been a Roman station, and situated about three quarters of a mile from Cockermouth. Mr. Wake's letter contained drawings of several of the objects which had come to light during excavations which are now being carried on for the sewerage and water-works. They consist of a glass bead, quantities of leather, some pieces of it resembling morocco, others *cordoran*, all in excellent preservation, and one piece distinctly stamped *victc*. A stone was found about a hundred yards from it, and at the same depth, viz. about six feet, bearing the inscription *victorini*; also a round brooch, about the size of our bronze penny piece, bearing traces of enamelling and black dots. Besides these there were a fibula or boss, of which the pin was wanting, in a metal resembling pewter, but harder; some bone counters engraved on one side; a coarse red earthen vessel with a handle; and a denarius of Antoninus Pius.

Mr. Gunston exhibited a relic in white metal found in the Thames, and having upon it a runic epigraph; and Mr. Cuming an object in copper bronze, the use of which was uncertain.

Mr. Cuming read the following paper upon these:

"ON A RUNIC EPIGRAPH FOUND IN THE THAMES.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., VICE-PRESIDENT.

"It is a singular circumstance that, whilst the soil of London has yielded such an abundance of early remains, there should have been found among them few inscriptions of a higher antiquity than the Norman era. What has been conjectured to be at once the oldest and the longest is the six imperfect lines, of Greek characters, on the marble tablet reported to have been discovered in Bishops-gate-street, and formerly in the collection of Dr. Adam Clarke.

"The Roman legends are well nigh confined to a few sepulchral monuments, the tiles made by 'the first cohort of the Britons at Londinium,' and the names of potters on the sides and bottoms of vessels

of the so-called Samian ware, and on handles of *amphoræ* and rims of *mortaria*. And when we descend to Teutonic times the traces of lettering are still more sparse. The '*Marmor Hardicanthus*,' pretended to have been exhumed at Kennington in 1790, was an infamous hoax played off on Mr. Gough by George Steevens;¹ and the apparent epigraph on the pewter brooch discovered in Cloak-lane in 1847 is a mere jumble of characters stamped by way of device;² so that the runes on the gravestone exhumed in St. Paul's Churchyard,³ and those on the sword-blade dredged from the Thames in 1857, and now in the British Museum,⁴ present to us almost solitary instances of the discovery in London of legends in such characters.

"And if we extend the range of inquiry from town to country, we shall see that the occurrence of Teutonic epigraphs is of the greatest rarity, and confined pretty much to the sepulchral slab, the trinket, and the seal. The gravestones brought to light at Hartlepool, Northumberland, shew us the form of runes in vogue in England in the seventh century.⁵ The ring of Ethelwolf, found near Salisbury, and now in the British Museum;⁶ the ring of Allstan, bishop of Sherburne, found in Carnarvonshire;⁷ the sceptre-head known as 'the Alfred jewel,' in the Ashmolean collection;⁸ and the gold ring exhumed in Hampshire, inscribed *NOMEN EHLLA FIDES IN XPO*;⁹ are among noteworthy examples of Anglo-Saxon lettering of the ninth to the eleventh century. To which period also belong the seals of Ethelwald, bishop of Dunwich; Ælfrie, Earl of Mercia; Eadgitha, the royal nun of Wilton; St. Cuthbert of Durham, and the double signet of Edward the Confessor.

"The scarcity of epigraphs on objects of Anglo-Teutonic art will lead us to look with special interest on a relic dredged from the gravelly bed of the Thames, near Westminster Bridge, in 1866, and now the property of Mr. Gunston. (See pl. 13, fig. 1.) This extraordinary object is wrought of white metal, either base silver, or what is termed in Ireland *findruine*, which approaches in nature to the famous *tombac* or *tutenag* of India, the *pak-fong*, or white copper, of the Chinese.

"Traces of gilding are perceptible on several portions of the surface of the metal; and this coating may have tended to preserve the relic,

¹ See *Gent. Mag.*, March, 1790, p. 217; April, p. 290; Aug. 1834, p. 214. *European Magazine*, April, 1790. *Journal*, xi, 72.

² See *Journal*, ii, 313.

³ See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, 1853, vol. ii. p. 285. Old Series.

⁴ This legend is in *Futhorc runes*, so called from the arrangement of the first six letters of its alphabet. Mallet (*Northern Antiquities*, Bohn's ed., p. 163) states that the Scandinavians "took particular care to procure very keen swords, which they inscribed with mysterious characters." The late Mr. Rolfe of Sandwich possessed the silver hilt of a sword bearing a runic legend. (See *Archæologia*, xxxii, 321.) For a spear-blade inscribed with runes, see *Journal*, xxiii, 387.

⁵ See *Journal*, i, 185.

⁶ *Archæologia*, vii, 421.

⁷ *Archæologia*, iv, 47; *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1823, p. 482.

⁸ *Gent. Mag.*, June, 1826, p. 497.

⁹ *Journal*, i, 341.

which is in wonderfully good condition considering the number of centuries which have passed since it left the hands of the craftsman. It measures seven inches and three-eighths in length, and has evidently served as the lap or border of some important article, to which it was secured by nine ball-headed rivets, five of which are still *in situ*. The upper edge is funiculated, and the sinister end terminates in the head of a fierce looking dragon with round eyes of blue glass, long ears rising up and reflected, narrow tongue bending beneath the throat, jaws open and armed with rows of short teeth and four terrific tusks, the dental arrangement exactly resembling that seen in the head of a monster engraved in Worsaae's *Afbildninger* (pl. 95, fig. 373), and denominated a saddle-knob of bronze. But the most precious element in this unique specimen from the Thames is the legend consisting of twenty-three letters sharply and clearly incised on one face of the lap. That the major part of these letters are runes must be apparent to every one; but the regarding the whole as referrible to the same alphabet, has proved a stumbling-block to almost every scholar who has attempted to fathom their meaning. The acumen, however, of that erudite Saxonist, Mr. Ralph Carr, has rent the veil of mystery, and determined the words to imply, 'It belongeth to Ibne (or Ibhe), your sister-in-law.' Mr. Carr kindly informs me that though the majority of the letters of this legend are runes, there is a slight admixture of debased Roman characters; and it is this union of two alphabets which has offered such a bar to its decipherment.

"Looking at the fashion and workmanship of this Thames rarity, I should regard it as a Norse production of the eleventh century; but Mr. Carr considers that the redundancy of pure runes, and the brevity of the lady's name, point to an earlier period; and further, that the dialect of the legend is that of Northumbria. Mr. Carr also compares Ibne or Ibhe with Ebbe, a name familiar to us in that of the saintly daughter of Ethelfrid, king of Northumbria, who became abbess of Coldingham in Berwickshire; and also in that of the queen of Ethelwalch of Sussex, both of whom flourished in the second half of the seventh century.

"There is some difficulty in understanding how the declaration, 'It belongeth to Ibne (or Ibhe), your sister-in-law,' is to be received. Mr. Carr suggests that the original owner of the article of which this metal band formed a portion, graved, or ordered the words to be graved, as 'a bequest *per inscriptum titulum*,' so that after his or her death it should pass to the daughter-in-law.

"Conjecture is rife respecting the original purpose of this inscribed piece of metal. Can it have bound the crest of a helmet, or border of a pelta-shaped shield? was it mounted on the butt of a whip or back of a large knife? are among the many queries offered. Mr. Carr asks



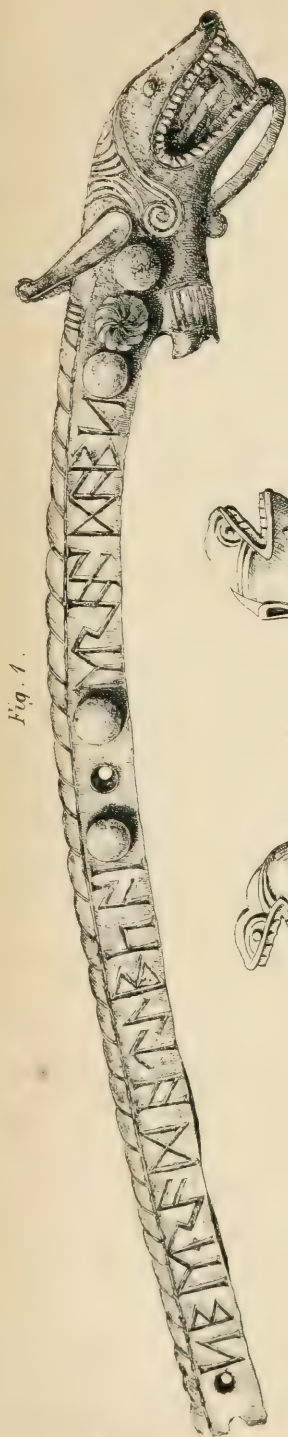


Fig. 1.

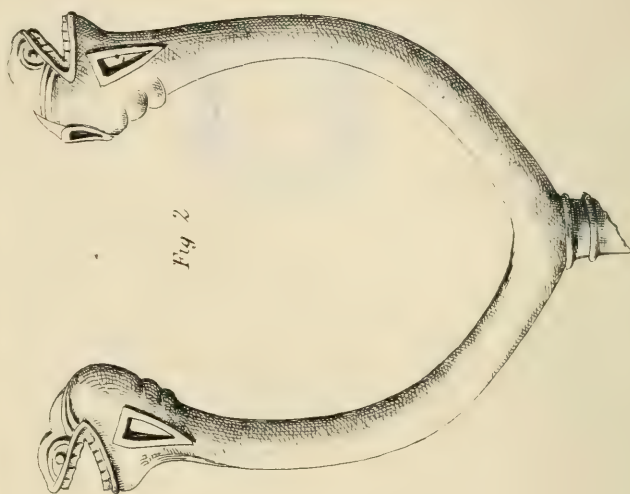


Fig. 2.

if it adorned a purse, or the bow of a portable harp or *cithara*. The nearest approach in form to the fragment in question, that I can refer to, are two dracotine ornaments which rise from the gable-ends of the crested roof of a *feretrum* of the twelfth century, given in Worsaae's *Afbildninger*, pl. 110, fig. 399. If the specimen from the Thames be a portion of such a shrine, then the announcement, 'It belongeth to Ibne (or Ibhe) your sister-in-law,' must have been addressed to some one named or portrayed on the sacred chest; and refer, not to the piece of metal, nor the article to which it was affixed, but to some encased relic of the fair lady. If this notion be correct, we can at once understand how an early Teutonic name may occur on a late Teutonic work of art; and it is probable that, for religious purposes, the older form of letters might be retained out of a feeling of veneration for the past.¹ But I must beg you to bear in mind that I give expression to these ideas with much diffidence and hesitation, and should rejoice if any one would clear up the mystery regarding the purpose of the fragment, as Mr. Carr has done with respect to the legend which forms such a valuable and important addition to the Teutonic epigraphs found in London.

"The devices on Anglo-Saxon *sceattæ*, and ornamture of initial letters in early MSS., attest the fondness of the Teutonic races for ophidian and sauroid forms; but as yet few objects with such patterns have been met with in the neighbourhood of the metropolis. A silver ring recovered from the Thames at Chelsea, in 1856 (now in the Waterton cabinet), may be cited as presenting a rare instance of lacertine design; and the relic we have been considering as a still choicer one of dracotine decoration; and to this I will now add another example, well worthy of attention from its singularity of character. (See pl. 13, fig. 2.) This curious piece of work was some years since obtained from the mud of the north bank of the Thames, west of London Bridge, and seems to be of about the same age as the inscribed fragment. It is made of copper bronze, and for form may be likened to a spur, or better, perhaps, to the fork of a musket-rest; but that it is neither the one nor the other is plain enough. Both branches terminate with a dragon's head of the short type; the ovate eyes have round pupils; and the open jaws, thickly set with teeth, shew the remains of tongues. On the throats of these monsters flow beards, and through the neck of each is a triangular hole. The occiputs of both heads are socketed, as if to receive a transverse bar, from which, some think, an ornament or jewel depended, and swung between the curved branches; others, that

¹ The copper dish discovered on the site of Chertsey Abbey, on which the late Rev. Mr. Kemble read the admonition, *Geteoh uraeko* (offer, sinner) is an instance of the employment of *early* runes on a *late* work. (See *Archæologia*, xxx, 31.)

to it was secured a pin, the object being wrought for a fibula. At the base of the fork is a portion of a stem, which may have finished with a knob, if the thing be a fibula; or else a point to fix into something. But if so, what were the form and character of that *something*? Here we are as much at fault as we are in respect to the other item from the Thames, and conjecture is equally busy with the one as with the other. A portion of horse-furniture (head gear or neck pendant), the adornment of the apex of a crown or helmet, and the head of a sceptre or official staff, are some of the notions which have been advanced regarding it.

"With these crude and unsatisfactory observations I submit these two rare and remarkable objects from the Thames to the consideration of the learned world, and beg its verdict on them."

Mr. Thos. Wright thought the former of the objects exhibited was the clasp or opening of a gipsure or purse, and its date probably of the eleventh century; and that the runes were not Anglo-Saxon but Norse. With regard to the latter, it certainly was a matter of much speculation as to what had been its use, and it might have been applied to any of the purposes which Mr. Cuming had suggested.

Mr. Cuming read an extract from a letter addressed to him by Ralph Carr, Esq., and dated Hedgley, Alnwick, 5 March, 1868, pointing out the differences of spelling the names in his orthographic map of Northumberland, and that ordinarily adopted, and stating the reason which had induced him to depart from the usual practice.

8TH APRIL, 1868.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following member was announced:

S. H. LOUITT, ESQ., 110, CANNON-STREET.

Mr. W. Powell exhibited a New Zealand hatchet-blade, about four inches and three-eighths long, and nearly three inches across the edge, carefully wrought out of a piece of deep green jade or nephrite, called by the Maories *pounamu*, and found at Tovy Pounamu, the southern of their two islands. For a notice of this mineral see Parkinson's *Voyage round the World*, pp. 93, 120, 127; and Hawkesworth's *Voyages*, ii, 400; and for hatchets, images, and *meris* formed of it, see *Journal*, x, 108, 109. The employment of nephrite for cutting implements is not quite confined to New Zealand, for dissecting knives and hatchets wrought of it are met with in New Caledonia; and in the Cuming collection are two rare celts of green jade from Western China.

Mr. Gordon Hills exhibited a fine collection of flint implements found

at Earl Stonham, Suffolk, and read the following extract from a letter addressed to him by W. Whincopp, Esq., dated Woodbridge, 3rd March, 1868: "Besides the worked flints from Stonham, and others from the Little Ouse, now deposited at Mitford, I have enclosed one from St. Acheul, 1867; one from Denmark, and one from Wangin; and breast-cloth from the Lap dwellings. Mr. Watling, who has been in correspondence with Mr. Cuming, has kindly permitted my sending his beautiful drawings, which I hope you may be induced to notice in your *Proceedings*."

Mr. Hills then laid on the table the drawings mentioned by Mr. Whincopp. These were contained in three volumes, and were most carefully and artistically drawn, and accompanied by illustrative remarks in manuscript. Of these three volumes, the first consisted of *Illustrations of the Roman Remains recently found at Stonham, Suffolk*; the second, of the *Illustrated History of the Antiquities of Stonham Parva Church*; the third, *Drawings of Miscellaneous Roman, British, Saxon, German, and other Antiquities*, mostly copied from various published works, as illustrative of the examples found by Mr. Watling at Stonham.

After the thanks of the Association had been unanimously voted to Mr. Watling, Mr. Gordon Hills read a paper on "West Hampnett Church, co. Sussex" (which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*), chiefly in reference to its Roman remains; and he exhibited drawings of the church, and several specimens of the architectural remains which he had brought from it. Of these, the most remarkable were some hollow tiles which he thought might be flue-tiles, although he was aware that there was considerable difference of opinion upon such tiles; as there was, indeed, with regard to the whole system of the ancient heating by means of flues. He himself was inclined to the belief that the *hypocaust* was always used in connexion with the bath. He would also call attention to some pieces of Devonshire marble which had been used for paving.

Upon the conclusion of Mr. Hills' papers and remarks, the Chairman observed that it was very interesting to know that we had still existing among us the remains of Saxon churches; and it appeared to him that it would be more interesting still if he could ascertain positively whether any of these were built upon the sites of Roman temples. He thought there was little or no doubt that Roman temples had existed in this country.

Mr. Roberts said that it appeared from Mr. Hills' drawings, that at West Hampnett Church the smaller end was towards the west, whereas in early churches it was almost universally towards the east; and this he wished to point out as a remarkable feature in the church. The object of making a structure narrower at one end than the other would, doubtless, be to increase the perspective, and give the appearance of

greater length. With regard to the hollow tiles, he quite agreed with Mr. Hills in his remarks with regard to the use of the hypocaust. He had seen many early examples of tiles similar to those now exhibited ; as, for instance, at the church of S. Vitalis at Ravenna, where there were some of the fifth century ; and at various other churches. He thought that the employment of Roman materials in buildings did not by any means demonstrate the fact that they were of Saxon date ; as, indeed, was proved in the case of St. Albans' Abbey. With regard to the base of a column of the Norman period, it appeared to him that it had been turned up at a later time, and made to serve for a piscina, as this practice was very general during the whole of the mediæval period.

After further remarks had been made by the Chairman, Mr. Blashill, and Mr. G. R. Wright,

Mr. Grover, in confirmation of the Chairman's remark, that Roman temples had existed in this country, mentioned a stone which had been found at Chichester with the inscribed dedication of a temple to Mercury by Pudens Claudius Linus. He added that there were also, in his opinion, distinct proofs of the existence of Christianity in Britain before the time of the Saxons.

The Chairman read a paper, "On Signacula found in London" (in continuation of that in vol. xxiii, pp. 327-333), which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*.

The Chairman said that, in addition to the collection exhibited by Mr. Hills, and alluded to by Mr. Whincopp, Mr. H. Watling had announced the further discovery of ancient relics at Stonham, Suffolk, and sent him the following remarks upon them :

"A vast quantity of Roman and other remains have been found lately in the valley intersecting the two parishes of Earl's Stonham and Stonham Little. This valley was apparently devoted to the purpose of dwellings, and that to the south was devoted to the purposes of interments, as vast quantities of urns of a dark colour, covered with a tile, and containing human bones, with large nails, etc., occur. It is evident that the present church here was built on the site of a pagan temple, as on the north is an extensive barrow, in the vicinity of which urns of a grey colour are found, and within the yard is a tumulus. In consequence of stoppages through agriculture only fifteen rods have as yet been excavated ; but from so small a piece of land vast quantities of pottery, iron, lead, glass, copper coins, querns, flue-tiles, etc., have been obtained ; also a number of flint implements, as celts, arrow and spear-heads, scrapers, 'strike-a-lights,' etc. ; with a great quantity of oyster and other shells, and a numerous display of deer's horns and bones of the deer, hog, horse, ox, wolf, etc."

Mr. Watling also suggests that the Stonhams may be the true site of

Sitomagus, placed between Venta Icenorum and Cambretonum in the ninth *iter* of Antonine, and localised by some authors at Stowmarket. Mr. Watling's communication was accompanied by excellent drawings of several of the Stonham relics. Among them mention may be made of the shells of the *ostrea edulis*, *buccinum undatum*, and *natica castanea*; of the horn-core of the goat, the metatarsus of the deer; the truncated fork of a fine antler of the *cervus elephas*, probably a portion of an implement; and a pointed bone, apparently a tool; knives, key, and nail of iron; leaden weight or sink (:); and fragments of terra-cotta, one being a good sized grotesque mask, of a brown hue, belonging to the class of vessels mentioned in this *Journal* (xvi, 356); another, the bottom of an olla, of a dark grey tint, with the maker's initials impressed in the paste before firing, ^GF.A.F; the two last letters being combined.

With respect to the coins discovered at Stonham, the Rev. C. E. Searle reports that they "are for the most part third brass of the lower empire, and lie between the reigns of Claudius Gothicus and Constantinus II (A.D. 268-337). Those certainly deciphered are, Claudius Gothicus; Diocletian, *rev.* VERT.; Carausius, *rev.* PAX; Constantinus, *rev.* Prætorian Gate, PROV.; Constantinus II, *rev.* trophy, GLORIA EXER.; Magnentius, *rev.* soldier with Christian monogram; Valens (?). One is a plated *denarius*; another a very small coin indeed, a *minimus*. With the exception of three or four, they are in a bad state of preservation, but are certainly Roman."

Mr. Holt exhibited a thurible or *encensoir*, in copper, of the fourteenth century, from the Abbey of St. Bertin, St. Omer, France, and remarked that the Abbey, which was of great magnificence, was founded in the seventh century. At the outbreak of the great revolution the monastery was suppressed, and under the Directory the Abbey sold, unroofed, and entirely stripped of its wood and metal work. Its library was dispersed, its relics destroyed, and its religious ornaments and utensils disposed of.

22 APRIL, 1868.

T. WRIGHT, ESQ., M.A., F.S.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. H. Watling, in continuing his report of the discoveries at Stonham, Suffolk, stated that since his last communication the excavations have vigorously commenced with good success. Five flint implements have been met with; one of them being a much defaced, narrow axe-blade; another, a neatly chipped spear-head. More objects of iron have been found: among them a fine broad bladed pair of shears, eight inches and three quarters in length. The fresh "finds" of pottery



include a somewhat compressed, globose urn decorated with white slip. One of the coins deserves mention, a little barbaric piece of copper having a falling horseman on its reverse. The ancient deposits at Stonham extend over several hundred acres, and it will therefore require some years to bring all the buried treasures to light. Mr. Watling's report was accompanied by masterly sketches of a few of the relics described.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited a collection of fibulæ from Lombard-street. He remarked that the fact of so many being together led him to think that the site where they were found was formerly occupied by a jeweller's shop. He also exhibited fragments of a sword or dagger, which the Chairman and Mr. Cuming agreed was Saxon.

Mr. Gunston exhibited some chain-armour, *temp.* Edward III, found in the Thames near Blackfriars' Bridge.

The Chairman laid before the society some photographs of objects found by M. Ch. Roessler, of Havre, in the Roman cemetery at Lillebonne, and read a letter from that gentleman descriptive of them, in which M. Roessler stated that several cinerary urns, lachrymatories, sacrificial vases, medals, fibulæ, and articles for the toilet, had been discovered, together with a quantity of remarkably fine specimens of ancient glass. Among the articles photographed, the writer called attention to an elegant vase, with two handles, of red earth varnished; to an iron lamp with bronze hangings, and to some small medals bearing an effigy of the Emperor Nero. Both the coins and the sepulchral objects indicated that it had been in use during the first empire. The disappearance of sepulchral stones was accounted for by the military walls which were found near the Roman theatre; for the sepulchral stones had, in all probability, been carried away from the cemetery in order to build and strengthen the walls, and protect JULIOPONA against a sudden inroad of the Saxons, the city having been frequently attacked during the first Germanic invasions.

The Chairman observed that several of the objects deposited resembled similar ones which had been found in England. The locks, for instance, were very like some which had been discovered at Uriconium and Colchester. The most remarkable thing was, he thought, an object which seemed to have some resemblance to a retort.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson exhibited a remarkably well executed flint arrow-head made by a "Flint Jack," and sold to him as a forgery. He handed this round merely for the purpose of shewing how very closely genuine objects could now be imitated. He also exhibited a circular brass seal of the fourteenth century, three inches in diameter, on which are displayed, in high relief, the gate, walls, and towers of a city. Within the circuit of the walls three towers rise, the loftiest surmounted by a vane. The upper part of the field is semée of fleurs-de-

lis. The legend is + SIGILLVM : COMMVNIE : CIVITATIS : ET : VILLE : TORNA-
CENSIS. He remarked that it was evident, from the fleurs-de-lis, that
the seal was not that of Tournay in Belgium, but of Tournay in the
Hautes Pyrenées. He agreed in the doubts that had been expressed as
to this being the original matrix. He thought that a cast had been
taken from the original, and that the seal he now exhibited had been
made from the cast. It was, however, valuable as being an exact repro-
duction of the original seal. He also exhibited a Chinese seal found in
Ireland, and purchased by Mr. Lindsay of Cork.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that some time since he paid considerable
attention to the Chinese seals stated to have been found in Ireland.
All which he had examined, bearing this repute, were cubes of white
porcelain closely resembling that of Fokien, and of much smaller size
than the tall stone signet produced by Mr. Simpson. The latter speci-
men had every appearance of recent fabrication. The characters dif-
fered much in form and execution from undoubted examples of Chinese
origin. The very thinness of the strokes of the letters had a suspicious
look, and the question forced itself on his mind, whether the seal was
not the work of an European rather than of an Asiatic. The signet in
question differs entirely from the examples given in Getty's *Notices of
Chinese Seals found in Ireland*.

Mr. Holt said that he had received many objects from China with
Chinese inscriptions, and he doubted whether the letters on the seal
were Chinese at all; at any rate he had no belief in the genuineness of
the seal. He also exhibited a Venetian copper vessel of the sixteenth
century, used upon the occasion of administering the *viaticum* to per-
sons at the point of death; and a *bâillon*, or gag, of the sixteenth cen-
tury, which was used as an instrument of torture by Sanson, the noto-
rious French executioner, and his family.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited plans and sections of a camp at Cadbury,
Somersetshire, surveyed under his own direction. It stood at a height
of four hundred feet above the level of the sea. He wished to call par-
ticular attention to the traverses.

The Chairman observed that, in describing the date of such a camp,
it was highly important to ascertain whether the works were regular
entrenchments, or merely banks thrown up. Here the works presented
the appearance of regular entrenchments. The Emperor of the French,
when preparing the Life of Julius Caesar, had directed particular atten-
tion to be paid to examining the question of entrenchments; and the
engineers employed by him gave it as their opinion that no regular
entrenchments had been made before the time of Julius Caesar. Hence,
as these were, in his opinion, regular entrenchments, he thought that
the camp could not be anterior to Caesar's invasion of Britain. It was,
as he should conjecture from the sections exhibited by Mr. Grover, a

Saxon camp made after the Roman fashion, which the Anglo-Saxons had learned to imitate.

Mr. Ralph Carr said that in a great many of the northern camps stones had been found which, although they were now in the pavement, were no doubt querns before they were used for paving purposes. These were, no doubt, British; and he thought that this indicated the fact that the Britons had learned to form camps before the arrival of the Romans, and that they required them for protection against each other.

Mr. G. Vere Irving said that the camps in the south of Scotland, with every one of which he was acquainted, varied considerably in their forms. The Romans did not adopt any particular set form for their camps; but, as Vegetius remarked, varied their plans so as to suit the nature of the ground on which they were entrenching themselves.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming read some notes on reliquaries, which will be printed in a future number of the *Journal*; and exhibited the head of a staff of the tenth century, found in the Thames.

Mr. J. W. Grover exhibited a Roman spear-head* from Ribchester, fused at the burning of the temple to Minerva which had once stood there.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

TUESDAY, 13 MAY, 1868.

LORD HOUGHTON, M.A., D.C.L., ETC., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Treasurer's Report on the year 1867 was read, and was as follows:—

“At the audit of 1867 the then Auditors, Mr. G. A. Cape and Mr. S. Wood, represented to the Treasurer their opinion that the Report which it had been customary for the Auditors to sign, along with the balance-sheet, would more fitly be signed by the Treasurer; embracing, as it often did, matters not strictly belonging to an examination of the accounts. In order to avoid the infringement of the custom which had hitherto prevailed, the Report of 1867 was reduced, as nearly as possible, to a bare remark or two upon the accounts, and was signed by the Auditors, together with the balance-sheet, as on previous occasions. At the audit of 1868, conducted by Mr. T. Gunston and Mr. Josiah Cato, on May 1, the Treasurer represented to them the opinion held by their immediate predecessors, and stated his own agreement with that opinion. Mr. Gunston and Mr. Cato having expressed their concurrence in this view, the balance-sheet is now submitted to the

General Meeting, and its correctness attested by the signature of the Auditors, whilst the Treasurer begs permission to offer the following review of the position of the society :

"The receipts during the year 1867, as shewn by the balance-sheet, have amounted to £525 : 5 : 7, being £9 : 11 : 11 in excess of the preceding year. Although we have this increase in the whole, yet the source of income most important in amount, and most reliable for its steadiness, viz. the subscriptions, shews a falling off of £34 : 17 : 10 ; and the sale of books also has realised scarcely more than half the amount of 1866. But the decrease on these two items has been counterbalanced, and the scale turned in favour of 1867, by the superior productiveness of the Ludlow Congress over that of Hastings. It should, however, be remarked that the superior amount of the subscriptions in 1866 was in some respects adventitious ; the recovery of arrears being large, and the number of life payments (five) unusual. In 1867 there were not the same arrears to be recovered, and there were only two life payments received. Thus, though apparently less in 1867 than 1866, the steady part of the income was really greater.

"The amount of subscriptions received in strictness agree with the number of annual subscribers. This number is 391, as made up in the printed list at the beginning of 1868. For its actual production of subscriptions to be expected from it, it has to be reduced by six honorary members and by eight associates, who are abroad, leaving 387 subscribers, who ought to yield £406 : 7 : 0. The actual yield has been £16 : 0 : 6 short of what strictly punctual payments would produce.

"Added to the income is the balance in hand at the beginning of the year, viz. £263 : 13 : 4, which makes a total charge against the Treasurer of £788 : 18 : 11 for the year 1867.

"On the other side of the accounts, the total expenditure, £421 : 3 : 1, is less by £45 : 12 : 2 in 1867 than in 1866 ; and the expenditure for 1867 is less than the income by £104 : 2 : 6. The balance in hand at the end of 1867 has accordingly been raised by the latter sum from £263 : 13 : 4, at the end of 1866, to £367 : 15 : 10 at the end of 1867. The decrease of the expenditure has been upon the printing and illustration of the *Journal*. In concert with the Editor this has been brought to £305 : 1 : 1 for 1867, against £394 : 15 : 8 for the preceding year. This decrease was necessary because the Council had determined, as mentioned at the General Meeting of 1867, to issue a further part of the *Collectanea*, for which about £150 would be required ; and because the Hastings Congress had not produced an amount which would justify such an expenditure in 1867 as the handsome amount of the Durham contributions had allowed and required in 1866. The wish of some of the authors for time to revise their articles for the *Collectanea* has

hitherto postponed the printing of it ; but as the sum of £150 has to be reserved for this purpose, the available balance must be taken as £367 : 15 : 10 less £150 ; that is to say, about £217,—a very satisfactory sum with which to commence the year 1868, and to provide for its current expenses until its subscriptions come in.

“The office expenses and rent for 1867 are larger than they have ever been before, owing to the additional space engaged for the society’s office work at Midsummer last, and to the addition of a paid clerk to the working staff. In 1867 these items stand at £79 : 19 : 0. In 1866 they were only £41 : 6 : 6. For 1868 the charge will be still higher than 1867, as the increased rate will extend over the whole year instead of only half ; and the Council has, besides, added for 1868 the expense of a paid reporter for the evening meetings, at one guinea a meeting.

“The ceasing of most of the temporary subscribers from the Durham and Ipswich Congresses prevents the announcement of an actual increase in the number of the members, although there is an increase in the number of the permanent subscribers. During the year 1867 twenty-seven ordinary subscribers have been elected, twelve have retired, and eight have been lost to the society by death.

“Looking forward to the expenses of 1868, and the means to meet them, we may take the *Journal* to cost about £350 ; the *Collectanea*, £150 ; rent and office expenses, £135 ; miscellaneous and petty expenses, £37.—Total, £672. To meet the expenditure we have the balance in hand, £367 : 15 : 10. We may expect £390 from subscriptions, and £25 from sale of books.—Total, £782 : 15 : 10 ; giving a balance to start with, for the ensuing year, of about £110, exclusive of the proceeds to be expected from the Cirencester Congress, and from the sale of the *Collectanea*,—two amounts which it is very difficult to estimate beforehand.

“(Signed.) GORDON M. HILLS,
 Treasurer.”

“9th May, 1868.

The following balance-sheet was then read, and, with the Treasurer’s Report, was adopted by the meeting.

Mr. Roberts, Hon. Sec., reported a recommendation from the Council that an alteration of the bye-laws should be made, by which all past presidents would be *ex officio* vice-presidents ; thus leaving the Council greater freedom in the elected vice-presidents. It was, therefore, proposed by Mr. Roberts, seconded by Mr. G. R. Wright, and carried unanimously, that the following words be added to the bye-law regarding ADMINISTRATION, and that the law should stand thus :

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, ten Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, two Secretaries, and a Secretary for Foreign Correspondence ; who, with seventeen other associates, shall constitute the Council.

British Archaeological Association.

BALANCE SHEET, 31ST DEC. 1867.

<i>Dr.</i>		<i>Cr.</i>	
	£ s. d.		£ s. d.
To balance due to the Association at the audit of 1866	263 13 4	By printing and publishing <i>Journals</i>	210 12 0
" Annual and Life-Subscriptions	390 6 6	" Illustrations to the same	94 9 1
" Balance of Ludlow Congress	111 12 7	" Miscellaneous printing	11 4 6
" Sale of publications	23 6 6	" Rent of rooms at Sackville-street, and storage at Pantechnicon, for 1867, and clerk's salary for half a year	56 12 0
	<u>£788 18 11</u>	" Delivery of <i>Journals</i>	23 7 0
		" Petty expenses, carriage of antiquities, gratuities, postages, stamps, advertisements, and notices	20 0 11
		" Stationery	4 17 7
		" Balance in hands of Treasurer	£421 3 1
			367 15 10
			<u>£788 18 11</u>

We have examined the accounts and vouchers connected with the above balance sheet, and have found them correct.

(Signed) THOMAS D. E. GUNSTON }
JOSIAH CATO } *Auditors.*

1 May, 1868.

And in addition :

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and to take precedence in the order of service.

A ballot was then taken for the officers for 1868-9, when the following were unanimously elected :

President.

THE EARL BATHURST.

Vice-Presidents.

THE EARL OF EFFINGHAM	JOSEPH MAYER, F.S.A.
SIR J. G. WILKINSON, D.C.L., F.R.S.	J. R. PLANCHÉ, <i>Somerset Herald</i>
H. SYER CUMING, F.S.A. Scot.	REV. PREBENDARY SCARTH, M.A.
JOHN EVANS, F.R.S., F.S.A.	REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A.
GEORGE GODWIN, F.R.S., F.S.A.	THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Treasurer.

GORDON M. HILLS.

Secretaries.

E. LEVIEN, M.A., F.S.A.

E. ROBERTS, F.S.A.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence.

THOMAS WRIGHT, M.A., F.S.A.

Palæographer.

CLARENCE HOPPER.

Curator and Librarian.

GEORGE R. WRIGHT, F.S.A.

Draughtsman.

G. F. TENISWOOD, F.S.A.

Council.

G. G. ADAMS	J. W. GROVER
G. ADE	J. O. HALLIWELL, F.R.S., F.S.A.
W. E. ALLEN	H. F. HOLT
THOMAS BLASHILL	G. VERE IRVING, F.S.A. Scot.
CECIL BRENT, F.S.A.	W. C. MARSHALL, R.A.
H. H. BURNELL, F.S.A.	REV. S. M. MAYHEW, F.S.A.
JOSIAH CATO	R. N. PHILIPPS, F.S.A.
J. COPLAND, M.D., F.R.S.	J. W. PREVITÉ
A. GOLDSMID, F.S.A.	

Auditors.

C. H. LUXMORE, F.S.A. | GEORGE PATRICK.

It was moved by Mr. G. Ade, seconded by Mr. H. F. Holt, and carried unanimously, "That the best thanks of the Association be given to Sir Charles H. Rouse Boughton, Bart., for his services as President during the past year."

It was moved by the Rev. H. Blane, seconded by Mr. J. W. Grover, and carried unanimously, "That the best thanks of the Association be given to the Vice-Presidents, Council, and Officers of the past year."

The names of members deceased during the past year were announced, and a cordial vote of thanks to the noble Chairman closed the proceedings.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 108.)

THURSDAY, 1ST AUGUST.

At ten o'clock the carriages left The Feathers Hotel, and conveyed the members to Little Hereford. Here the church was visited, and its principal features pointed out by Edward Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., whose remarks respecting it will be found in the subjoined paper :

"This church is dedicated to St. Peter (?), and was apparently included within the domain of the Delameres. The moated defences still remain; and on the south side are mounds indicating the site of an extensive mansion, which continued in the family until the time of Henry VIII, when it descended to two coheiresses, sole remnants of the Delamere family. The Delameres were amongst those who came over with William the Conqueror; and these two ladies were daughters of Nicholas Delamere of Parva Hereford in the county of Hereford. The elder daughter, Susan, married John Dansey of Brinsop; and Maud, the younger, married Richard Archer of Umbleslade, Warwick, who was, in 22 Henry VIII (1530), escheator of the county of Warwick, and justice of the peace. He was descended from the Fulbert l'Archer whose name occurs in the Roll of Battle Abbey.¹ One of his descendants, Thomas Archer, M.P. for Warwick, and subsequently for Bamber, was created Baron Archer, in 1747, by George II. The title is now extinct. There are in the church several tombs of unknown persons; these we must naturally conclude to be of members of that family with which the place was for five centuries so intimately connected.

"The church has been restored and much altered. It comprises a nave, chancel, and western tower. The last named is late Norman, *i.e.*, early twelfth century, and is of equal width with the nave. The western door has some excellent ironwork of the thirteenth century. The tower itself is in three stages, with a set-off at each stage. A considerable quantity of tufa has been used in the construction of the church.

¹ *Memorials of the Archer Families*, p. 19.

The nave is about a century later than the tower. There is a division at the chancel, and a small arch and steps to a rood-gallery. At the east end is a recess over the chancel-arch, forming part of the rood-gallery, which probably was originally an eastern window over the chancel roof, the chancel bearing indications of having been smaller than that now existing. Within the recess is a fresco painting of the crucifixion, and some signs of what is supposed by some to have been an altar,—an opinion in which I do not agree. There is a piscina at the southern end of this gallery, which leads one to the conclusion that some ceremonial was conducted in the rood-loft beyond the mere elevation of the host. The chancel, as I have said, was probably smaller at first. There are three sedilia and a small piscina on one side, and two canopied tombs of *circa* 1400 on the other; also an incised slab of a female figure, said to be Sybil, daughter of Edmund Delamere. A similar canopy is on the north side of the nave, in the eastern jamb of which was discovered a human heart when the whole church was restored about twenty-five years ago. There is a low side window concealed by a tomb inside, and a plain Norman font. From the appearance of the plinth on the outside it seems that the church was partly rebuilt on the former foundations, except the chancel, where no such plinth is seen. The termination of the old masonry and round-headed windows is distinctly marked on the north side. Thus the west end of the nave and the plinth are the earliest remains, the tower and south porchway next, the east end of nave slightly later, and the chancel latest. The peculiarities of the church, and the certainly earlier state of the western part of the church, almost suggest whether the usual order of building was not reversed here. The rood-loft clearly projected into the nave; and there seems to have been a window, large in proportion to the church, at the eastern end of the nave. It, therefore, may have been that the chancel was not built first, for some reason or other, but that the nave was used for the services during the time between the building of the church and the chancel. In the churchyard is a very fine yew tree, upwards of a thousand years old."

From Little Hereford the party proceeded to Burford, where they were received by the Rector, the Rev. J. W. Joyce, and by him conducted to the church. After it had been inspected, Mr. E. Roberts said that, with the exception of the monuments in the church, there was not much of particular interest. Mr. Levien had stated that the church existed at a very early period prior to *Domesday*, and had two priests; but that after *Domesday* it was not mentioned until 1253, and then it was held in three portions. There were three churches or chapels. The monuments were restored in 1848, and repainted, according to the accounts given by Dineley. However much they might regret that they did not see the monuments with the portions of their

original colours, it must be acknowledged that there had been a very considerable amount of zeal exhibited by the incumbent in the restorations; but he (Mr. Roberts), as an archaeologist, would much prefer their having been untouched. The chancel, he had been informed, was supposed to be Anglo-Saxon, but as far as he could see it was nothing of the kind. They could not tell without excavations what the foundations might be, but there certainly was a church there before the Conquest. It was supposed, besides, that the church was shortened at the east end, and the west wall cut through, and a new arch inserted in the nave at a later date, probably just before the Reformation. The registers commenced in 1569, and were carried on to 1679.

Rev. J. W. Joyce then proceeded to describe the monuments.

He said that those which would afford them the greatest interest were those of Lady Elizabeth of Lancaster, who was laid under the north window; and a small monument, under which the heart of one of the Cornwalls was buried. Elizabeth of Lancaster, daughter of John of Gaunt, was first married to the Duke of Exeter, who was beheaded at Cirencester for rebellion against Henry IV. She afterwards married "Green Cornwall," an account of whom had been given by Mr. E. Levien in his paper on the barony of Burford. Mr. Joyce, replying to the expressions of regret which had fallen from Mr. Roberts, that the monuments should have been touched, said that if nothing had been done to them, the archaeologists would have found them concealed by whitewash, and the effigies covered with very thick, coarse, red paint. Through the advantage of the Dineley MSS. they had been enabled to restore them to their original colours. Then there was the Baron Burford, Edmund Cornwall, a man of great stature (seven feet, three inches), whose walking-stick would be shewn them presently. They next came to a little monument, or rather stone with a hole in it, in which the heart of one of the Cornwalls was buried, who died at Cologne, and willed that his heart should be sent to his native soil. Above this tomb was the inscription:

"O Lord, my contrite heart is meek;
Do not refuse, I thee beseeke."

And also the following verse:

"O God, my soul I do bequeath to rest in heaven hie,
And there my corpse to be interred when I shall hap to die;
My heart unto my native soil for burial I betake,
My faith unto my friends I yield. This is the will I make."

In addition to the above objects of interest, there was in the churchyard a pillar-cross which had lost its head part, and which Mr. Roberts thought was of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. Besides this there was a remarkably old yew tree. It was stated that various opinions had been offered as to the reason why yew trees were planted in

churchyards. That which was now generally adopted was, that as these yew trees were used for the making of bows, the then national weapons of defence, the churchyards were the places where they were most likely to be preserved.

Mr. Gordon Hills said that Mr. Joyce had had before him a very difficult task in restoring the monuments, which he had found in a state of great dilapidation. With respect to the restoration of the roof of the chancel, it was a little unfortunate that it had been allowed to remain in the same line with the nave.

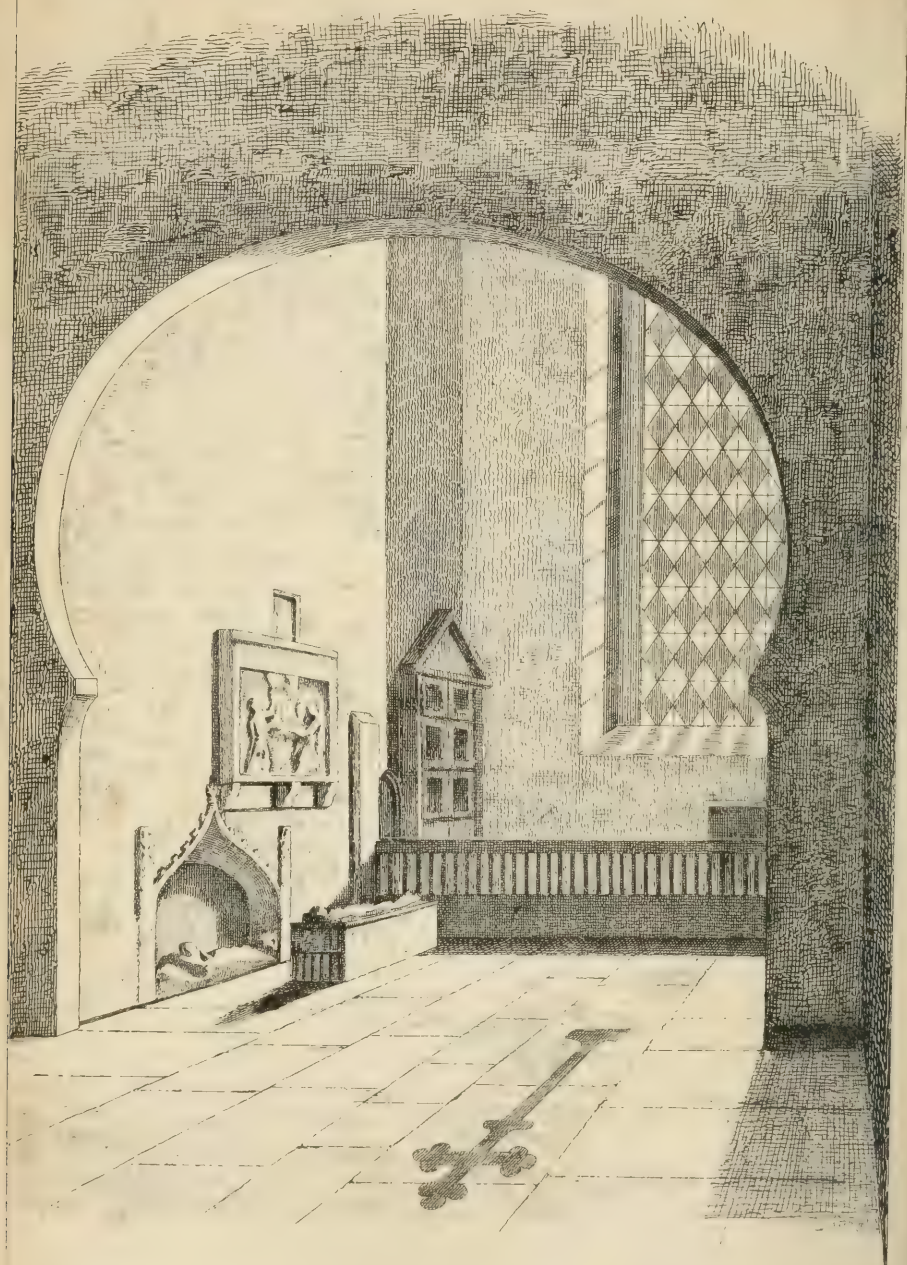
The Rector quite agreed with Mr. Hills in his remark about the chancel roof; and with respect to other improvements, which were much needed, he would refer, (1), to getting the plaster off the walls and tower. The latter was good Perpendicular work to within a short distance of the top, where it was patched with brickwork; and the whole is now covered with plaster. (2). A new roof is also sadly wanted for the chancel; and considering the value, in an archæological point of view, of the monuments, and their interest to the family whose name they record, it is a pity that they have not a better covering. (3). To archæologists and admirers of churches in their normal state, the high pews will, of course, be subject to censure. On the whole, however, he hoped that the Association had not been disappointed by their visit to Burford, where he was very glad that they had come, as it was always advantageous to hear the various views which might be taken of the same objects.

The following paper, from the pen of E. Roberts, Esq., will further elucidate the principal features of this interesting church:

“BURFORD CHURCH is dedicated to St. Mary. It consists of a nave and chancel, and has a western tower. The nave is long and narrow, has north and south doors, and appears to be of the fourteenth century; to which period the windows also belong, though having undergone ‘restoration,’ much is modern. The curved roof shews the pins which, until modern times, were invariably used for fastening carpentry, instead of nails. The chancel is also long and narrow. The priests’ door is square-headed, and has a notched keystone, said to have been restored from the original. There is some ironwork of the thirteenth century to this door. On the south side of the chancel is an angle-piscina in the jamb of the window; and the base of a tomb, injudiciously removed from some other part of the church, attempted to be restored by adding an upper part, of the rudest description; purposely intended to give an appearance of antiquity, but calculated only to deceive the most unwary. The church, however, is principally interesting from its many monumental effigies of those Barons of Burford, of whom Mr. Edward Leven has given an account.¹ Unfortunately these

¹ See *ante*, pp. 136-150.





ROBERTSON CHURCH
View of the Chancel from the Nave

monuments, as well as the church, have undergone amateur restoration, which, although it has been undertaken with the best possible intention, has, I venture to think, been carried out in a very injudicious way, reference having been made to the Dyneley MSS. for justification of the manner in which the work has been executed. It appears that the effigies were concealed under layers of whitewash and 'cart-paint,' and instead of cleaning being considered sufficient, the original painting has been irremediably concealed by new oil colour; which, however closely resembling the originals, effectually prevents the statues being used for the purposes of study. As these monuments have been frequently described,¹ they need only be referred to here. They consist of—

"1. On the left hand of the chancel door, that of the heart of Edward Cornewall, who died at Cologne, 14 Henry VI (1436), and willed that his body should be buried there, and his heart (enclosed in lead) at Burford.

"2. Opposite the foregoing is the monument of Elizabeth Duchess of Exeter, who died 4 Henry VI. The arms of her father, Duke of Lancaster, are beneath, impaled with those of Cornewall. Her second husband was John Cornewall. This is the lady whose daughter, Elianor, married into the Sydney family. This monument was repaired in 1683.

"3. In the baron's seat is Edmonde Cornewall in armour. He was the son of Sir Thomas Cornewall, and died in 1503, aged twenty.

"4. A triptych containing a painting of the Edmond Cornewall last named.

"5. A wooden effigy, helmed, and with a lion at the feet. This effigy is supposed to represent John Cornewall, the husband of Elizabeth.²

"In the churchyard are some alabaster remnants, leading to the conclusion that some other monuments have been destroyed. There has been a cross in the churchyard, the base of which only now remains, but which appears to have been of the fifteenth century. There is also a splendid yew tree, which is well worthy of the attention of our members and visitors.

"The original church appears to have existed before the Domesday survey, as it is therein mentioned, with two presbyters. The church itself seems to have been then a collegiate establishment;³ and at some time prior to the middle of the thirteenth century to have been changed in constitution, resulting in a division into three portions; in which it

¹ See Nash, *Hist. Worcestershire*.

² The *Gentleman's Magazine*, lxxviii, p. 984, gives the monuments, and describes this one as being on a chest, seven feet long, supposed to contain the bones of Sir John Cornewall.

³ Eytton, *Antiq. Shropsh.*, iv, 321.

continues to this day, each portion having always had a cure of souls.

"It is the fact of the Saxon origin which, I presume, has induced the present incumbent to state that the chancel walls are of that period; for which there is no authority. Nor is it so, in fact, within sight, whatever may be beneath the surface. But I should expect to find a Saxon chancel apsidal at the east end, and therefore I conclude that not even the foundations are earlier than the date I have already given for the superstructure."

After a few illustrative historical remarks upon the monuments in the church, extracted by Mr. E. Levien from his paper, "On the Barony of Burford," had been read by that gentleman, and a vote of thanks had been tendered to the Rector for his kindness, the party proceeded to Burford House, the seat of Lord Northwick, where, in the absence of its noble owner, they were received by the Hon. Miss Rushout. Here, among other interesting objects, was exhibited a strongly iron-bound staff, said to have belonged to the gigantic Baron Edmund Cornwall. As the ironwork, however, is of the seventeenth century, it is impossible to attribute its use to that particular member of the family. On the handle, which is also of iron, in the shape of a hammer, is the motto, "In my defence God me defend."

After the thanks of the Association had been voted to Miss Rushout for her courtesy, the members adjourned to the Swan Hotel at Tenbury to partake of a luncheon, to which they had been invited by Lord Northwick. Here they were met by several of his Lordship's private friends, and an elegant entertainment was prepared for them. In the unavoidable absence of Lord Northwick, the chair was occupied by the Rev. J. W. Joyce, supported by the President, Sir C. R. Boughton, Bart., the Hon. Miss Rushout, the Rev. Sir Frederick Gore Ouseley, Bart.; the Misses Childe of Kinlet; Jasper More, Esq., M.P.; F. R. Southern, Esq.; R. Kyrke Penson, Esq.; the Rev. J. De la Touche; Gordon M. Hills, Esq., Hon. Treasurer of the Association; E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Secretary, and Mrs. Roberts; G. R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., and Mrs. Wright; Edward Levien, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Hon. Sec.; A. Goldsmid, Esq., F.S.A.; and others.

The Rev. Chairman first proposed the health of the Queen, and in doing so said he was placed in a position of great difficulty, as he had to fill the place which was to have been occupied by their noble host, who was detained in London by his parliamentary duties, but who much regretted being unable to join them. The toast having been honoured, as well as that of the Prince and Princess of Wales and the rest of the royal family,

The Chairman said that the next toast he had to give them was one connected with a great institution of the country, and though it was

still of a somewhat general character, it was one that would come home to their feelings,—the health of the President of the Association, which they welcomed into the vale of Sabrina, of which their noble entertainer was a most worthy representative. He should be told, perhaps, by some present that Sabrina was the Severn. The reverend gentleman then quoted from the *Masque of Comus*, to endeavour to identify Sabrina with the Teme. In the name of their noble entertainer he begged to welcome them to the banks of Sabrina. He would couple with the toast the name of Sir Charles Boughton, the President of the Association. He hoped that at the conclusion of the meeting the ladies and gentlemen he saw around him would return home not displeased with their visit to the valley of the Teme.

Sir Charles Rouse Boughton said that he was quite overwhelmed with the reception given to the last toast; but as his health had been drunk only as the representative of the Association, in cheering so vigorously they had been, as it were, drinking to themselves. In replying he could not but express the same feelings which he had already done two or three times during that week. He hoped that the Association, independently of the more intellectual pursuits which they had enjoyed, would also take away with them a pleasing remembrance of the hospitality of Shropshire, which they had experienced on previous occasions. He begged to propose the healths of Miss Rushout and Mr. Joyce, as the representatives of Lord Northwick, and to express to them the grateful feelings of the Association for the kindness which they had met with; and he would beg Miss Rushout and Mr. Joyce to convey the expressions of their gratitude to Lord Northwick.

Rev. J. W. Joyce responded, and “The Ladies,” proposed by Mr. G. R. Wright, and responded to, on behalf of the married and single ladies respectively, by Sir C. R. Boughton and Mr. E. Levien in humorous speeches, exhausted the list of toasts.

Tenbury Church was next visited and remarked upon by E. Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., who has given a fuller description of it in the following paper:

“This church stands on the banks of the Worcestershire side of the river Teme, and is dedicated to St. Michael.¹ Its only ancient remains are the tower and part of the walls, a flood in 1770 having washed down the other parts; since which the whole has been restored, and the monuments removed from their original positions.

“The tower is exceedingly interesting, and marks a period which, though NORMAN, bore much resemblance to SAXON workmanship. In this part of England many of the forms were retained longer than in other places, and this tower is an instance of it. The upper part, on the south side, has a baluster dividing the window, which has every

¹ Lewis's *Topog. Dict.* gives it as to the Virgin Mary.

appearance in itself of being Saxon ; but it is set in a frame unmistakably of the succeeding period, the arch having a chevron. The other windows have plain heads, but the balusters have sculptured capitals. The parapet is of the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

"The only ancient remnants in the church are a small *lychnoscope* on the north side of the chancel, which enabled the worshippers to view the elevation of the pyx from an adjoining chamber. On the south side is a piscina. A canopied tomb of the end of the fourteenth century contains a diminutive armed figure of about the year 1300, with a heart in its hands. This is peculiar in respect of the combination of the heart with the small figure. Another piscina, trefoil-headed, has been removed from some other part to where it now is. The chancel is said to have been lengthened.

"On the south side of the nave is a gigantic effigy, said to be one of the Sturmys, of about the date Edward I ; also a monument, in alabaster, to Thomas Acton, who died 1581 ; and Mary, his wife, daughter of Sir Thomas Lacon. This is interesting from the fact that the heir of Thomas Acton was Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlcot, of Shakespearean notoriety,¹ he having married a daughter of this couple.

"The church, with a priest, is recorded in *Domesday Book*. The parsonage was, until the suppression by Henry VIII, attached to the Priory of Sheen in Surrey.² It was granted then to one Richard Andrews, who parted with it to the Thomas Acton before mentioned."

The vicar, the Rev. Mr. Smith, said the chancel had been lengthened at some period, but they could not tell when or why.

Mr. Hills read some account of it from the *Archæologist's Handbook*, by Henry Godwin, Esq., F.S.A.,—a work which contains an immense amount of valuable information upon the subject of ancient architecture, abbeys, churches, castles, etc.

This concluded the day's excursion, so far as it had been originally planned ; but the Rev. Sir F. Gore Ouseley, Bart., invited the party to visit the College and Chapel of St. Michael, over which he presides. A great number of oriental and other curiosities, together with several rare books and MSS., were exhibited in the library of the College, which excited a good deal of attention and conversation. The chapel, which is beautifully built, and superbly decorated, was very much admired.

After a vote of thanks had been passed to Sir Frederick Ouseley for the treat he had so unexpectedly afforded to the Association, the members returned to Ludlow.

At the evening meeting, the chair was occupied by Thomas Wright,

¹ Nash, *Hist. Worcestershire*, ii, 417 *et seq.*

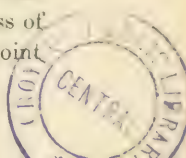
² *Monasticon*, ii, 29-34. Nash's *Hist. Worcestershire* gives Malvern as the priory. Dugdale's authority is a roll in the Augmentation Office.

Esq., M.A., F.S.A., V.P. After an account of the day's excursion had been given by Mr. Roberts, Mr. Gordon M. Hills read extracts from letters from Colonel Colvin and Thomas Jackman, Esq., relative to a find of bronze weapons, and other objects, near Leintwardine, Herefordshire. Sketches of these weapons, and the letters descriptive of them, were laid before the Association at their evening meeting, January 8th, 1868, and they will be found described at p. 64 *ante*.

The Rev. William Purton, M.A., then read the following notes on Stottesdon Church, of which he is the Rector:—

“Though I am unable to add anything to the little that is known of the history of Stottesdon, it has been thought that a few notes upon a church which is certainly one of the most interesting in this neighbourhood, though it could not well be included in any of our excursions, may not be unacceptable to the members of this Association and their friends. And as you are doubtless anxious to hear the very interesting papers which are named in the programme, I think it will save time, if I ask you to place yourselves in imagination in the centre of Stottesdon Church, and allow me, by the help of diagrams, to point out to you, in the capacity of cicerone, the chief objects of interest. For any information on the subject of the historical antiquities of Stottesdon, I must refer you to Eyton's *Antiquities of Shropshire*, and confine myself to my notes on the church as at present existing. It consists of a nave with north and south aisles, a rather large chancel and western tower. All that now remains of the original Saxon church is the doorway leading from the tower to the nave, which is clearly the west door of the pre-Norman edifice—the tower having been added in the 12th century. The triangular form of the tympanum, the carved head in the apex, and the rude sculpture on the flat lintel, as well as the manner in which the doorway projects from the wall, all point to a very early date. The reversed position of two out of the three animals on the lintel is remarkable. Possibly Mr. Blashill, who has promised us a paper on reversed sculpture, may be able to throw some light upon the reason of their supineness. The third, which is popularly supposed to be a lion who has slain the others, is upright, and in the opposite corner is what seems to be a net. Two dwarf columns, apparently of the same date, having rude mouldings on their caps and bases, have been preserved in the church, but what their original position may have been I am unable to conjecture.

“Of the Norman church, the lower part of the tower, the north arcade and the respond of that on the south side, remain. The ornament on the caps seems to have been an attempt on the part of some country mason to imitate the more artistic sculpture which he had seen elsewhere. The font is a remarkably fine specimen of a class of Norman font not uncommon in this neighbourhood; though in point



of size and in the variety of ornament and depth of carving, I know of none to compare with this. On one side is the Agnus Dei—whilst other medallions are filled by a hawk pouncing upon some smaller bird—a lion, and what seems intended for a wolf, alternating with varied floral and interlacing patterns.

“There is an early lancet window at the west end of the south aisle, whilst the north doorway with dog-tooth moulding on the capitals of the shafts, and a piscina found on clearing away the plaster from the vestry wall, seem to be of the same date. The vestry, I may remark, is merely a continuation of the north aisle, and was probably at one time a chantry chapel. A considerable portion of the south aisle was evidently enlarged to form a chantry chapel early in the 14th century, when the old Norman porch was pulled down and rebuilt in its present position. This portion of the south aisle contains one three-light and two two-light windows of flowing tracery, with a piscina, showing that an altar once stood at the east end.

“The chancel projects into the nave one bay. That is to say, the side aisles are longer than the nave and open into the chancel by two narrow pointed arches, which were originally built up for about three feet of their height by dwarf walls, upon which the bases of the inner order of mouldings, which were continuous and without capitals, rested. The foundations of these walls have been discovered below the present floor. Immediately to the east of the arch on south side is what is technically known as a low side window of somewhat peculiar form. It is richly moulded—trefoiled in the head—and has a small aumbry in the sill, while there are distinct traces of a shelf having once been let into the jambs at the level of the bottom of the glass, and of a transom, six inches thick, rather more than three feet above the sill. The priests’ door adjoining has a reversion arch of uncommon form—still further east of which are three sedilia, with crocheted and finialled canopies divided by buttresses with pinnacles. The north and south windows of the sanctuary are three-light windows with flowing reticulated tracery—richly moulded—but the east window is of somewhat earlier date. It is of five lights with intersecting tracery, the upper portion still retaining its ancient stained glass. In this, the royal arms (three lions,) and the arms of Cornwall, Segrave, and De-la-Zouch occur; each slide surmounted by a knight’s head in mail “*capuchon*,” except the royal arms above which the crown is seen through the face, has unfortunately been destroyed. From a MS. in the British Museum (Harl. Coll., 5848, f. 44) it appears that in addition to these arms, the window contained in the 17th century the arms of Blount of Kinlet, Croft, Pigott, Pesthule, and Johannes de Chetwynd; also the following inscriptions:

“Pray for S^r Tho’ Blount, Knight, and Dame Anne, his wife,

which made this window in the yeare 1414: orate pro bono statu Tho' Pigott et Isabella ux.¹

"The arms of Cornwall, as here displayed, are remarkable as having the *bordure* enrailed, but not bezantée.

"In the process of the restoration, which is now being carried out under the superintendence of our associate Mr. Blashill, numerous encaustic tiles have been found. They appear to be of the ordinary type of those manufactured at Malvern, having the patterns impressed upon them, and either filled in with white clay, or left blank. In either case they were glazed with lead, which has turned a greenish brown, approaching black in the deeper parts. Out of twenty tiles only two have been found with the same pattern. Three contain coats of arms, two have the sacred monogram. It is intended to reproduce some of the patterns and use them in the new floor. The old tiles will also be laid down again.

"In 1840, the church was "restored," by aid of a considerable grant from the Incorporated Church Building Society; the restoration consisting simply in the substitution of high deal pews for the old seats, the destruction of the fine old oak-wood screen, and the erection of a three storey pagoda in the very centre of the chancel. Most of the carved oak of the screen was used, I am told, to heat the oven at the village baker's with; but I have been fortunate enough to obtain about ten pierced panels, and a small portion of the carving on the rood-beam, together with portions of that on the horizontal beam which divided the lower and close portion of the screen from the upper and open part, and from these I hope to be able to restore the whole.

"In conclusion, I would venture, as an individual member of this Association, to express an earnest hope that the report which some of us have heard of an intention to remove the fine old rood screen in Ludlow Church, which is part and parcel of the return stalls of the choir, may prove to be unfounded. The effect of such a removal in an acoustic point of view is surely very doubtful, and the removal of this fine specimen of mediæval art is on every account to be deprecated."

Mr. Purton's paper was accompanied by illustrative drawings, and

¹ Sir John de Segrave was lord of the manor in 1270. Sir Thomas Blount, of Kinlet, married Anne, daughter and heiress of Sir Thomas Croft of Croft Castle. He died in 1524. So that the date in the MS. is clearly a mistake. It should be 1514. Dame Anne died in 1507; and the will of Sir Thomas, in which Dame Anne, his late wife, is mentioned, is still preserved at Kinlet Hall. Sir Richard de Pesthule, sheriff of Shropshire in 1333, married Joanna de Chetwynd, heiress; and Joan, his heiress, married one Robert Pigott. His grandson, Robert Pigott, married Mary, sister of Sir Thomas and daughter of Sir Humphrey Blount of Kinlet. She is wrongly described as daughter of Sir Thomas in the Shropshire Visitations. Thomas, son of Robert and Mary Pigott, is described in the Visitations as "of Chetwynd and Stotesdon," and his wife is spoken of as "Elizabeth *alias* Isabella."

in reference to the reversed figures, mentioned by him, the Chairman said it was not at all uncommon to find in mediæval monuments animals reversed as had been pointed out in Stottesden Church by Mr. Purton. On tiles it was also common ; and in making them he believed it first arose.

Mr. R. Kyrke Penson observed in respect to the report which Mr. Purton had mentioned relative to the proposed removal of the rood screen from Ludlow parish church, no such intention had, as far as he knew, ever been entertained. He regretted very much that the rector was not present that evening ; but from what he (the speaker) knew of that gentleman's veneration for the antiquities in the interior of the church, he was sure the report could not be true.

After a vote of thanks to Mr. Purton had been carried, the following papers were read :—" On Milton's ' Masque of Comus,' " by T. F. Dillon Croker, Esq., F.S.A. " On the Remains of the Austin Friars at Ludlow," by George Cocking, Esq. The former of these is printed at pp. 44-51, and the latter at pp. 51-56, *ante*.

After a vote of thanks to the authors and readers of the papers, and to the Chairman, and the announcement of the next day's proceedings, the meeting separated.

Biographical Memoirs.

SINCE the publication of our last obituary notices, the Association has to lament the deaths of the following members :

GILBERT J. FRENCH, Esq., F.S.A. Scotland (the mention of whose decease was inadvertently omitted in our last volume) died 2 May, 1866. He was a native of Edinburgh, where he spent the first twenty-five years of his life, and during this period published several literary and artistic criticisms in the public journals of his native city. In 1829 he settled in Bolton, where he engaged in active business pursuits, and turned his attention to the manufacture of ecclesiastical furniture and the study of church decorations generally. He was President of the Bolton Mechanics' Institution from 1857 to 1859, and delivered several lectures there. Two of these, "On the Life and Times of Samuel Crompton," were published, and from the proceeds of their sale was erected the statue to Crompton which now adorns the town of Bolton. Mr. French also took a prominent part in the establishment of the Bolton Free Library, and displayed an active and intelligent interest in the various artistic, literary, and charitable institutions in and about the town. Besides his "Life of Crompton," several productions of his pen were printed, a complete catalogue of which we are not certain that we can give. Among those which have come under our notice we may mention "Practical Remarks on some of the minor Accessories to the Services of the Church, with Hints on the Preparation of Altar-Cloths, Pede-Cloths, and other Ecclesiastical Furniture, addressed to Ladies and Churchwardens"; "An Attempt to Explain the Origin and Meaning of the Early Interlaced Ornamentation found on the Ancient Sculptured Stones of Scotland, Ireland, and the Isle of Man"; "On the Banners of the Bayeux Tapestry, and some of the Earliest Heraldic Charges"; "Notes on the Nimbus"; "The Substance of a Lecture on the History and Manufacture of Stained Glass Windows, prepared for and read to the Members of the Bolton Mechanics' Institution"; "The Tippets of the Canons Ecclesiastical"; "Remarks on the Mechanical Structure of the Cotton Fibre"; "An Enquiry into the Origin of the Authorship of some of the earlier Waverley Novels"; "Hints on the Arrangement of Colours in Ancient Decorative Art"; "A Catalogue of

a Library of Books, chained to an oak chest bequeathed by Humphrey Chetham to Turton Chapel, A.D. 1655, repaired and rebound by subscription A.D. 1855"; "Decorative Devices for Sunday Schools." Mr. French was buried in Walmsley Church, universally and deservedly lamented by all the inhabitants of Bolton and its neighbourhood.

EDWIN EDDISON, Esq., joined this Association before the Leeds Meeting in 1863; but being at the time in failing health, was unable to take so active a part as he would have wished; not that he professed an acquaintance with archæology, but that he ever wished to help any cause which promised increase of knowledge or social advancement. When more able to work he zealously laboured at the Leeds Meetings of the British Association and of the Royal Agricultural Society. As a public officer in Leeds, Mr. Eddison was well known; and upon his death, which occurred the 13th January, 1867, the regret occasioned by his decease, publicly expressed, testified to the high esteem in which his zealous services were held, and to the public gratitude for his ready aid upon every occasion which could benefit his fellow citizens. Mr. Eddison was not a native of Leeds, but had resided in the town from his youth, and in due course became a member of the legal firm of Messrs. Payne, Eddison, & Ford. In 1836, under the new municipal reform act, he became Town Clerk of Leeds; and applying himself with unwearied assiduity to the onerous duties of his position, undermined his health, and after a few years was obliged to resign the appointment. He nevertheless continued to take an active part in the public affairs of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and of his own borough, till about a year before his death, when a heart disease compelled him to lay aside his wonted activity, and finally terminated his career at the age of sixty-one years.

NATHANIEL GOULD, Esq., F.S.A., Vice-President, died October the 11th, 1867, at the advanced age of seventy-nine years. His long connexion with the Association, having joined it in 1847, and his frequent attendance both at the London meetings and congresses, made Mr. Gould well known to a large number of the members; whilst his interest and intelligence in the pursuits of the Association, and the heartiness of his nature, acquired for him a large measure of personal respect and affection. His regularity of attendance was first broken in 1861, on which occasion occurred the death of his son in India. The last Congress he attended was at Durham, in 1865, when his activity and assiduity were the wonder of the members, and where his *vivâ voce* delivery in the Assembly Rooms at Newcastle, vigorously describing his personal recollections of the old aspects and antique manners of Newcastle-on-Tyne, carried back to nearly seventy years before, created the liveliest

interest in the minds of all present, both by the quaintness and accuracy of the picture produced, and the perspicuity and energy of the relator.

Mr. Gould's name as an exhibitor of objects of interest occurs in the *Journals* of the Association, at vol. iii, p. 338; vol. vi, p. 147; vol. viii, p. 140 (a valuable series of drawings of Cromwell's fortifications of London, made by one of his officers, Captain Eyre, who was afterwards killed at Marston Moor); vol. x, p. 185; and vol. xiv, pp. 291, 342. Mr. Gould was a good classical scholar; but before our Association came into existence, had ceased to use his pen, except for his extensive business transactions. In the few years before the end of the first quarter of the present century he had very frequent occasion to cross over from Cornwall to Brittany. He was much interested in the relationship of the two districts, and contributed some observations to the *Gentleman's Magazine* on the affinity of their languages. As a member of the "Britton Club" he shewed his interest in the study of antiquity, and the value he attached to the society of the acute and cultivated minds, and the eminent antiquaries who associated themselves together around John Britton, and who honoured the Club by calling it under his name. He preserved a curious and interesting record of this Club in one of Britton's books, in which, on the occasion of one of their meetings at his house, he procured the signature, with the age attached, of every member of the Club. His time and his great energy, both mental and physical, were, however, mainly devoted to the active business life of a London merchant and shipowner, which made him well known in the governing body of St. Katherine's Docks and Lloyd's Registers. Whatever he entered upon he did heartily and thoroughly, and with strict care as to the details of the execution. Thus, some forty years ago, he prepared charts and sailing instructions for his own ships through the Gulf and entrance of the river St. Lawrence, and these were found of such value that they were published, and generally used in the mercantile marine. His hearty and genial temper secured to him the relaxations of social intercourse and the esteem of many friends; and for his overflowing energy he found further space in the excitement of the hunting-field,—an amusement which he continued to follow down to his last illness. Here, again, the mere excitement and pleasure of the pastime did not consume his zeal; but in thorough enjoyment of every detail of it, he penned a curious work, *The History of the Horse*. Soon after his welcome and happy appearance at the Durham Congress began the illness which proved long and hopeless, and after nearly two years' suffering terminated his useful and well spent life. Mr. Gould leaves a widow and three daughters.

In addition to these are some few of our late associates, of whom it

is to be regretted that we have not been able to obtain such full particulars as we could have desired. These are—

EDWARD J. BULLOCK, Esq., M.D., who joined the Association in 1859, and died at his residence, 84, Manor-street, Chelsea, in March 1867, aged 47.

WILLIAM CAVE BIRDSWORTH, Esq., of Lytham, Lancashire, had been a member of the Association almost from the first, having joined in 1845, and died in the summer of 1867.

WELLWOOD MAXWELL, Esq., of Glenlee Park, New Galloway, N.B., who joined us in 1865, but we have not been able to ascertain the precise date of his death.

CHARLES BRADBURY, Esq., of Salford, joined the Association at the Manchester Congress in 1850, and died in July 1867.

EDWARD PRIEST RICHARDS, Esq., of Cardiff, was a very old member of the Association, having joined it in 1846, and died late in the year 1867.

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THE CHURCH OF WEST HAMPNETT, SUSSEX, CHIEFLY IN REFERENCE TO ITS ROMAN REMAINS.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

THE village and church of West Hampnett are situated about a mile and a half from Chichester, to the north-east; and as I have to treat of the church of West Hampnett in reference to the Roman remains lately discovered in it, it is important to notice that the road which leads directly from Chichester (the Roman station of *Regnum*) to West Hampnett is the Roman *Stane-street*, which went from *Regnum* to London, and which for several miles out from Chichester, and in other parts of its course, is still an important public high road. West Hampnett Church stands immediately on the north, or, more strictly speaking, the north-west side of this road.

Until the summer of 1867 the church was not known to possess any marks of greater antiquity than those of the mediæval ages. So far as its features had till then been open to observation, it was certainly an interesting and rather peculiar specimen of church architecture of the beginning of the thirteenth century; but its modest pretensions had never attracted notice in print, except the very slightly expressed opinion as to its "early Norman era" of architecture offered by Dallaway¹ fifty years ago, and a notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1832,² which adopts Dallaway's opinion, and adds a few facts connected with the then recent

¹ Western Sussex, vol. i, p. 119.
1868

² Vol. 102, Part I, p. 579.
28

discovery of an ancient tomb in the church. This notice is accompanied by a small and good view of the church from the south-east.

As an addition to the size of the church has been made in the course of last year, I must speak of it as it appeared before this latest alteration. It consisted of a nave with south aisle and porch, and a chancel. Its plan was singularly irregular (plate 15, fig. 1), the nave being 1 foot 10 inches wider at its east end than at its west, and the chancel bending off to the south, without being parallel to either of the walls or to the centre line of the nave. The tower, placed at the east end of the aisle, between 11 and 12 ft. square externally, had its upper story framed in timber, and carries a low, shingled spire, giving a very picturesque effect to the south side of the church. Externally the entire church was covered with plaster, except the end of the porch and the west end of the nave, which have been rebuilt within the last thirty years. The ancient architecture visible externally was all of the thirteenth century, being the lancet-windows of the chancel, its east window, and a curious square trefoil-headed window in the north side, except that the windows and door in the north side of the nave were distinctly of the fifteenth century. In the interior the date of the work was principally indicated by the beautiful little arcade to the south aisle, in which the scalloped capitals to the columns indicate the lingering remains of the Norman style, whilst in all other particulars the architect had advanced into the full use of the detail of the Early English style of the beginning of the thirteenth century. The interior aspect of the chancel was very unpromising. Its walls had been battened over, and lathed and plastered (about forty years ago it would seem from the notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine*), and every part of the dressings to the side windows concealed; whilst the chancel arch (of which one could still see that it must originally have been a very simple semicircular arch) had had its stone jambs rudely cut, in order to widen the view through it, and its arch had been cut on the under side, and made smooth with modern brick and tile smoothly plastered over, to widen it out to match the altered jambs. No stone dressings appeared in the arch, and I then fancied that in the course of cutting the arch they had been got rid of. In the end it appeared, however, that the arch never

had stone dressings. The nave had a becoming ancient roof, and the chancel a very poor one of forty or fifty years ago.

It was resolved to get rid of the modern lath and plaster inside the chancel, to put a suitable new roof to that part of the building, to rebuild its east wall and south-east corner. Owing to the failure of a former roof, and the proximity of graves, the east wall had separated, and half of it had gone away to the south, the rest a little to the north, so as to have added five inches to the width of the east window at its sill, and to have altogether distorted the shape of its head.

Upon the chancel walls being stripped of their lath and plaster, a part of them were found to be of much greater age than any previous appearances had indicated. The chancel arch (plate 16, fig. 4) was found to be originally wholly constructed of brick of Roman fashion; and the wall about it to have many fragments of Roman brick intermixed with rubble, stone, and flint, laid chiefly in herringbone courses. The two side walls of the chancel, extending from it to 16 or 17 feet eastward, contained similar Roman remains, mixed material, and herringbone work; and in each of the side walls there remained a diminutive window about 2 ft. 8 ins. high, 6 ins. wide at top, and 7 ins. at the sill. The jambs formed of rubble-stone, flint, and broken Roman brick. The head of one of them destroyed, but the head of the other perfect, a small semicircular arch cut in one stone. Both windows splayed out to a good width, inside, with splayed semicircular arches, but were wholly destitute of cut stone.

I conclude that the most ancient remains thus far described are a Saxon chancel-arch with the side walls of a Saxon chancel, the original length of which is shewn to have been 16 or 17 ft., by the length of so much of the side walls. The continued history of the chancel can then easily be read in the rest of the chancel-work. In the thirteenth century the old Saxon east end was taken down, and the chancel extended to about 24 ft. long; the old material of the east end was chiefly used in the base of the new piece of wall on the north side; the old Saxon windows were stopped up, and windows inserted in the Saxon walls, to correspond with the style of the new work. The Saxon chancel-arch was still considered sufficient. It was, no doubt, at first plastered over, and so remained, with but little alteration,

to our own days. The chancel-arch (one can hardly say it without an archæological pang) has now been taken down to make way for a larger opening into the chancel. All the rest of the Saxon work remains just as it was found, except a small piece to the right of the south Saxon window, which was taken down to save it from falling. From this piece of wall, and from the old chancel-arch and the larger aperture made about it, the specimens of Roman material now produced have been obtained. The chancel-arch was wholly constructed of the flat building tile—much of it in fragments—of the two kinds represented by the first six following specimens. I was struck with the weight of the third specimen, a fragment which weighs just twenty-five pounds; but on testing its specific gravity, I find it remarkably close to the average of brick as given by modern authorities. In Gwilt and Haviland the weight of brick is given at just double that of water, viz. as 2000 to 1000; and the calculation for this ancient specimen gives just 2006. No. 1, which I also tested, is specifically heavier, being 2,306; its actual weight, 21 lbs. 15 ozs.

No. 1.—Flat building tile, $16\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by $10\frac{3}{4}$ ins.; $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick. Marked with the print of a dog's foot. 21 lbs. 15 ozs. Specific gravity, 2306.

No. 2.—Flat building tile, 15 ins. by $10\frac{1}{4}$; $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins. thick.

No. 3.—Flat building tile, broken. Must have been about 22 ins. long, and is $14\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide, $2\frac{1}{4}$ ins. thick. The fragment weighs 25 lbs., and is scarcely half of the tile.

No. 4.—Flat building tile, $14\frac{1}{2}$ ins. by 10 ins.; $1\frac{3}{4}$ ins. thick.

No. 5.—Fragment of a flat building tile, $10\frac{1}{2}$ ins. wide. Similar to Nos. 1, 2, 4.

No. 6.—Fragment similar to the last, $9\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide; very hard burnt, hence reduced by burning to a small width.

No. 7.—Fragment of tile, 1 in. thick. Probably an imbrex or roofing tile: marked on the under side with wavy scratches.

No. 8.—Part of the rim of an imbrex or roofing tile. The tile was 1 in. thick. The rim is raised $1\frac{1}{2}$ ins., and the under side of the tile seems to have been scored with some kind of marking like the last described.

No. 9.—Fragment of a hollow or flue-tile scored with wavy marks outside, on its side, and impressed with lozenge

pattern on its end or soffit. It has two semicircular indentations on the side, segments of a circle, $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to 3 ins. diameter. This is the bottom part of the tile.

No. 10.—Fragment from the top of a similar hollow or flue-tile, $12\frac{1}{2}$ ins. long, scored with wavy lines on both sides; the top plain.

No. 11.—A perfect flue-tile, shewing completely, as the two former fragments do less perfectly, that these tiles are formed like the voussoirs of an arch in shape; $8\frac{7}{8}$ ins. long on the bottom, or intrados; $10\frac{1}{4}$ ins. long on the top, or extrados; $11\frac{5}{8}$ ins. high; impressed on both sides with a lozenge pattern, and on the soffit or intrados; the top plain. The tile is $5\frac{3}{4}$ ins. wide. The cavity of the tile is about 3 ins. by 9 ins., which leaves the sides or walls about $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. thick. Near to the intrados the sides are each of them indented at their verges with a semicircle; making, when two tiles are joined together, a hole $2\frac{1}{2}$ ins. to 3 ins. diameter. (See plate 16, figs. 5, 6.)

No. 12.—Small fragment of the bottom and side of a similar tile; intrados stamped with lozenge pattern; sides scored with wavy lines.

No. 13.—Fragment of the intrados of a similar tile. This tile is only $4\frac{5}{8}$ ins. wide. The bottom and both sides are marked similarly to the last described.

Nos. 14 and 15 are two fragments of a red and white marble cut into squares $5\frac{5}{8}$ ins. across, and evidently parts of a pavement; wrought smooth on one side, and picked rough on the other, to give them a hold in their bed of mortar.

Of the specimens of tile, the most remarkable are the hollow or flue-tiles, Nos. 9, 10, 11, 12, 13. I use the word "flue-tiles" here, but I by no means desire it to be understood that these were ever used or designed for the purposes of heating. It was in old times, and often now is, convenient to use hollow tiles when there is no idea of passing hot air through them.

I take occasion to observe that the term "hypocaust," applied to a hollow floor in ancient Roman remains, is often much misused. Wherever a hollow Roman floor is discovered, it is straightway dubbed a hypocaust, and we are expected to believe that the hollow was in every case used for the purpose of admitting heated air for the sake of warming the apartment through the floor. I apprehend

that the real state of the case is very different. Very often (certainly in this climate) the Romans laid their pavements hollow for the same reason that we frequently do at the present day, viz., to ensure their thorough dryness by separating them from the soil beneath, and giving them an under ventilation. This was very palpable at Uriconium (Wroxeter, Salop), where I noticed the considerable thickness of the mass of material which carried some of the pavements,—in one instance fully 2 ft. 6 ins. thick of concrete and rubble above the hollow,—a mass which it is impossible to suppose hot air from below could ever have been intended to penetrate; and, moreover, I was struck with the fact that the pavements laid hollow were generally found in good preservation, whilst those laid on the ground had perished, thus shewing the real utility of the hollow method in a most conclusive manner. I believe that a careful consideration will shew that the real hypocaust and warming flues were used only in connexion with the bath and the hot chambers belonging to it.

And again, as to the hollow tiles. At Corinium (Cirencester) none of them have been found in use as flue-tiles, but have been applied as pillars to support a floor, in lieu of the more common piles of flat tiles. No doubt these particular tiles were made for flue-tiles, and their application to another purpose is purely accidental. Not so with the West Hampnett tiles. There are many reasons, without reference to smoke or heat flues, why tiles should be made hollow: such simple ones as the saving of clay, and the better adaptation for burning of the thin sides than of the solid mass. And again, the plastering upon hollow tiles would much sooner be fit for colour or decoration than if upon a solid face. All of these purposes were served in the West Hampnett hollow tiles; but in their adaptation to an arch they are, I believe, unique amongst Roman remains in England. In the side walls of the chancel there yet remain eight of them, presenting, in seven instances, their plain backs in the face of the wall, and in one case the ornamented lower end or soffit. Their true character cannot be detected until compared with the perfect and perfectly seen specimen, No. 11, which is evidently the voussoir of an arch. The tiles appear to have been intended for the face of the archivolt of an arch. Thirteen of them would make a semicircular arch, 13 ft.

5 ins. span, allowing less than a quarter of an inch each for joints. The stamped and scored patterns in their sides and soffits would give a good hold for the superficial plaster with which the Romans would cover them. Their plain backs received the wall above, and hence needed no provision for the adherence of plaster. Both sides being stamped or scored, enabled the tiles to be used indifferently for both sides of a wall, and with either side outwards. The holes in the sides enabled the workmen to manipulate the better to fix the tiles, and provided means to fix wood, metal, plaster, terra-cotta, or other ornaments, on the face of the work.

The two pieces of marble also deserve attention, being a foreign material, or at least from a distance. I believe from Devonshire.

It is not worth while to venture on conjecture as to what Roman building in ruin may have furnished to the Saxons the material for their chancel. In the vicinity of Regnum such material must have been abundant. In the summer of 1866 similar material and similar herringbone work were discovered, and may still be seen about the very early stone chancel-arch of Rumboldswyke Church, nearer to Chichester, and not more than a mile and a half from West Hampnett; and in 1851 an undercroft was discovered in the little church of St. Olave, in the city of Chichester, in which Roman brick was used.¹

I have called the old chancel of West Hampnett, Saxon. If rudeness of workmanship could always pass for a mark of age, we might pronounce this to be of the earliest Sussex Saxon church-work. I am inclined to do so; but I find a better reason in the abundance of the Roman material, which, as time passed, became gradually scarce, and was much more scarce in the late Saxon period to which I attribute the more perfect Saxon church of Rumboldswyke. In the latter church it is found only in the wall between the nave and chancel.²

A good idea of the original, complete form of West Hamp-

¹ *Sussex Archæolog. Collections*, vol. v, p. 223.

² Rumboldswyke Church was enlarged by the addition of an aisle in the summer of 1866. Its walls were wholly stripped of plaster internally, but the old plaster left externally. The windows were all lancet-windows of the thirteenth century, and one door of that date. All of them were palpably seen to be insertions in a much older wall. The chancel-arch and a north door alone were of early work, and original. The chancel-arch remains, and the windows and south door, unaltered.

nett Church may be obtained from that of the unaltered form of Rumboldswyke, or from that of the almost perfect Saxon church of Ovingdean near Brighton. (Pl. 15, figs. 2, 3.) The latter is mentioned in *Domesday*, so is West Hampnett Church.¹ St. Wilfrid, Bede says, came to Sussex about A.D. 681, and founded his monastery at Selsey, which continued to exist at Bede's decease, about 731. He speaks of the monastery having a church of its own, and states that the monks also "celebrated masses in all the oratories of this monastery"; i. e., I presume, in the neighbouring villages, in little and rude structures such as West Hampnett must have been. Before St. Wilfrid, Bosham alone in all Sussex had a church, and its establishment was by no means prosperous. About 735 Selsey, too, seems to have flagged. In 705 it had become a bishopric; but in 735 it lost the dignity again, and was annexed to the see of Winchester. It is not impossible that to this first period of Christian prosperity under the see of Selsey, the Saxon work of West Hampnett belongs.

The latest mediæval work in the church possesses some interest. The north door is a very simple Pointed door with a semicircular internal arch, and a label both inside and outside; both labels having a shield at the crown, and one at each foot,—six shields in all, and bearing arms. Three of them are the curious coat of Robert Tawke, who was born at the beginning of the fifteenth century,—a T and R conjoined, three chaplets in chief; a fourth bears three grasshoppers, the arms of the family of Thetcher; a fifth has the Tawke arms impaling those of Thetcher; and the sixth, three mullets in chief,—the arms, says Dallaway, of the family of St. John; the St. Johns being the lords of Halnaker, of which this manor was a member. These coats of arms give the date of the former rebuilding of the north wall of the nave, the two windows of which are of the same age

¹ Dallaway has not noticed this. In *Domesday*, in the possessions of Earl Roger, within the hundred of Boxgrove, the manors of Antone and Hentone are both mentioned; and are, in fact, the East Hamptonett, Hamptonett, or Hampnet, and the West Hampnett of the present day. Hentone, *alias* West Hampnett, then possessed a church and one mill, and a second inferior, and apparently remote, mill is afterwards mentioned. West Hampnett still has its church. The mill-stream of the parish is the small stream called the Lavant. There is still a mill-house, now or lately a publichouse and brewery, standing on the Lavant. I do not know where the other mill stood; but the city of Chichester had a mill lower down the stream, and now destroyed, which existed almost to modern times.

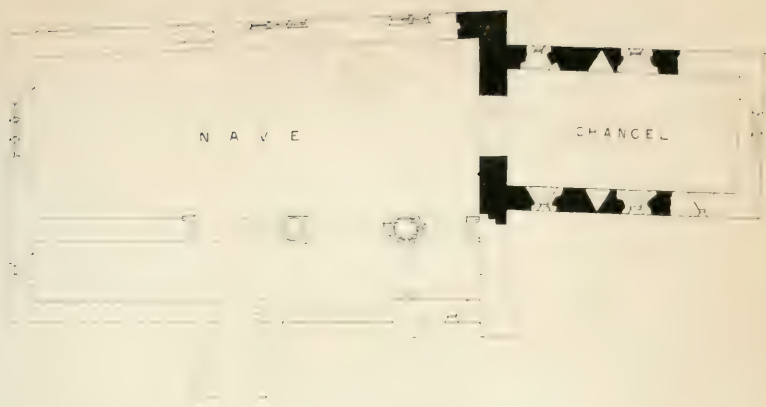


Fig. 1. West Hampnett Church.

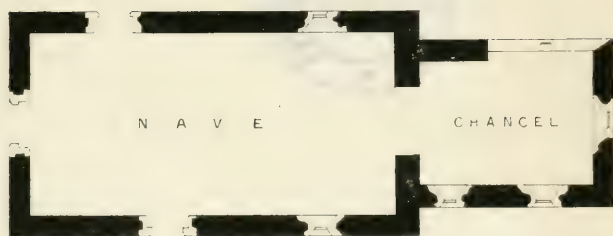


Fig. 2. Rumboldswyke Church.

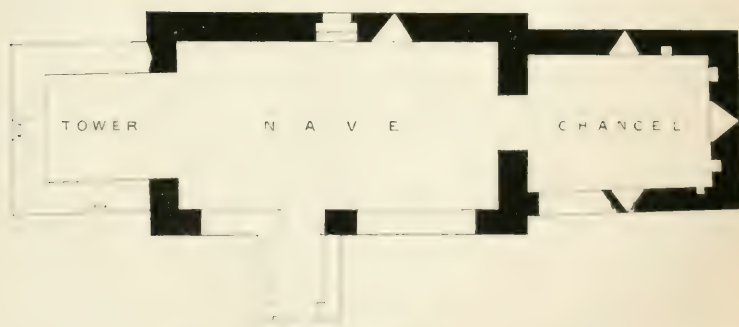


Fig. 3. Cingdean Church.





West Hampnett Church
Fig 4 Chancel Arch

Fig 6

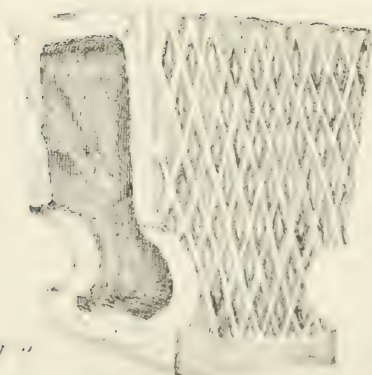


Fig 5

Roman Tile from West Hampnett Church



as the door, viz. about the middle of the fifteenth century. Three shields on a tomb in the chancel (which is very well engraved in Dallaway),¹ carry the heraldic history a little further. We have there the arms of Thetcher and of Sackville, and the one united with the other,—the union of a lady of the Thetchers with Richard Sackville, an ancestor of the good Earl of Dorset of the great Sussex Sackville family. Robert Tawke was the owner of a mansion called Hampnett Place, not far from the church, on the opposite side of the Stane-street. His family was succeeded by Thos. Thetcher, and his daughter and heiress married Richard Sackville. The mansion continued much longer; was rebuilt, on a larger scale, in the eighteenth century; and is now the Poor House for the parishes of Boxgrove, West Hampnett, and East Lavant.

The question of the dedication of the church of West Hampnett is a vexed one, which tempts me to say a few words at the risk of appearing irrelevant. Bacon's *Liber Regis* gives the dedication to St. Peter. In the *Sussex Archaeological Collections* (vol. xii, p. 73) we find mentioned the "light of our Lady of West Hampnett," and the "light of St. Peter in the sayde church"; to both of which lights bequests were made in one will in 1535. In vol. xv of the same *Collections* (p. 89), the Rev. E. Turner, M.A., of Maresfield, tells us, from the chartulary of Boxgrove Priory, that the church of Hamptonett was given to that priory under the dedication of St. Peter at Hamptonett. At p. 94 he gives the same dedication from another grant. At p. 96 he tells us of "the church and vicar of St. Mary of Hamp-tunet, and the chapel attached to it." Now the church at present has evidence of an altar, which stood at the east end of the aisle, in the tower. A niche of the fifteenth century remains there, fit to receive a small statuette. Was it designed for St. Mary or St. Peter? The high altar in the chancel,—to which of the two was it dedicated? The majority of the references is in favour of St. Peter as the dedication of the high altar and the church, and St. Mary for the aisle altar. It can, perhaps, be decided by a further reference to the Boxgrove chartulary.

I have described the church as it was before the altera-

¹ But the inscription under the sculpture of the Trinity is wrongly given "Sancti Spiritus unus Deus." It is really "Sancta Trinitas unus Deus."

tions of 1867, and I have said that those alterations have involved the removal of the ancient Saxon chancel-arch. Besides this, the church has been enlarged by the addition of an aisle on the north side of the nave. This rendered necessary the removal of the door and windows connected with the family of Tawke and Thetcher, but they have all been conscientiously refixed in the new aisle. A new arcade, of four arches, takes the place of the old north wall. The south arcade of the nave has been extended westward by the addition of a fourth arch where there was a large blank space in the wall. The south aisle, which had no windows, except one at its west end, and one in the tower, has received a couplet of lancets. The east window of the chancel has been rebuilt with the old stones to jambs and arches, but with a new mullion and the quatrefoil in the head new. The Saxon side windows have been walled up, but left perfectly distinguishable. The eastern and western lancet-windows in the south wall are the original ones. The centre lancet in that wall had been destroyed, but its inside arch was found perfect, and the outside has been renewed after the pattern of the western side window, to suit the size of the inside arch and jambs which remained. The window in the north wall, opposite to the centre lancet, had been destroyed, and has been similarly renewed outside. The square, quatrefoiled-headed window in the north wall is unaltered; its external masonry is in Pulborough stone, which is not found anywhere else in the church; and as the window itself externally corresponds with no other in the church, either in form or section of the jamb, it is likely it was renewed by itself in the fourteenth century. Under the small eastern lancet in the south wall the alterations disclosed a good thirteenth century piscina. It was filled with rubbish, as well as the little window above it, which was walled up; and in the rough work taken out from the window or the piscina were found the other two objects exhibited, viz., a thirteenth century carving, in Caen stone, of a female head, 5 ins. high, 4 ins. wide; a small corbel, or a label-termination; and the base to a shaft, $6\frac{3}{4}$ ins. diameter, of the twelfth century, which seems to have been, from the perforation down the middle, and the inverted cavity in the bottom, part of the base of a pillar, water-stoup, or piscina.

ON SIGNACULA FOUND IN LONDON.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THANKS to the untiring exertions of our associates, Messrs. Baily, Brent, Cato, and Gunston, we are enabled to add another chapter to the history of "*Signacula* found in London," commenced by Mr. C. R. Smith in the 200th page of our *Journal*, and continued at intervals by myself in subsequent volumes. The origin and purpose of pilgrims' signs have consequently been so fully gone into that nothing is called for on the present occasion but to describe the several specimens now submitted, and offer a few explanatory remarks.

Beginning with the *signacula* of female saints, we will first notice those appertaining to the Blessed Virgin, whose relics and mementoes, scattered throughout Europe and the East, proved such powerful attractions to the devout during the middle ages. The sign which is now to engage attention is the property of Mr. J. W. Baily, and may fairly claim to be regarded as one of the earliest things of its kind which has yet been brought before us, for it is beyond all question the work of the eleventh century. (See plate 17, fig. 1.) It is about an inch and three-quarters high by nearly an inch wide, and represents a tabernacle, within which is seated the Virgin Mary supporting the child Jesus on the right arm, the left hand holding a fleur-de-lys topped sceptre. Both figures wear crowns. That upon the head of the holy Mother may be compared with the crowns in which Edward the Confessor and Harold II are delineated on some of their coins; but the stems of the lateral balls are rather more divergent than those of the Saxon monarchs, and in this respect remind us of the position of the stems of the diadem of William I, as depicted by William abbot of Jumièges in a MS. preserved in the public library at Rouen.¹ The wall of the tabernacle is decorated with a dice-pattern, the alternate squares being filled with a cross patée, and the side columns are capped by a long narrow leaf. The most extraordinary feature in this *signum* is the rebus beneath the throne on which the Virgin sits, and which consists of the letters

¹ See Fairholt's *Costume in England*, p. 71.

pul, followed by the figure of a cask; which, considering the age of the token, I venture to read as Wylton (Wilton); and refer the object to the abbey dedicated to St. Mary, which was founded, A.D. 773, by Wulstan, Earl of Wiltshire; and which in the year 800 was converted into a nunnery by his widow, Alburga or Elburga, sister of King Egbert. Future research may perchance show to what image or relic of the Virgin this rare *signum* relates; but at present all we can say is, that it is the work of the eleventh century, that it appears to bear the name of Wilton, and that it was discovered at Brook's Wharf, Upper Thames-street, Feb. 1868.

We must next cross the Channel to "our Lady of Boulogne," who, until the destruction of her image by the revolutionists, towards the close of last century, drew thousands of visitors to the church of Notre Dame. The lower part of one of her signs is exhibited by Mr. Cecil Brent, which, fragment though it be, is worthy of notice on account of its large size. It represents the sailless, manless, miraculous ship in which the Virgin's no less miraculous effigy was borne to France in the seventh century, and in its broken condition measures two inches and five-eighths from prow to stern. This curious example was recovered from the Thames in 1867, and is of fifteenth century workmanship.

The sacred bark of Boulogne has sometimes been mistaken for a crescent, and the crescent for the bark; but the two things need never be confounded, for as a general rule the timbers of the ship are clearly distinguished, whilst the moon has a void field and pearled edge. Mr. Gunston exhibits several little signs in which the demi-figure of the Virgin, sceptre in hand, and accompanied by the infant Saviour, appears between the horns of the crescent. They belong to the fifteenth century, and were found at Brook's Wharf.¹

The signs of the Virgin at times represent her nearly full length, crowned and sceptred, and holding the nimbed effigy of the child Jesus; beneath her the crescent, and around the person a flamboyant aureole. Such a *signum*, of the fifteenth century, found at Blackfriars in 1867, is now produced by Mr. Gunston. (Plate 17, fig. 2.) That badges of

¹ A curious representation of the Virgin and Child within the crescent occurs in a painted glass, of the time of Edward IV., in Chicknal Church, Essex. See *Genl. Mag.*, Dec. 1786, p. 1008.

this type appertained to some particular place is manifest from the fact that in the British Museum is a portion of a sign on which we read ASSVMPCIONE : BEATE : MARIE : DE.... the name of the shrine being unfortunately broken away.¹ At first it might seem impossible that there could be a sign of the Assumption; but it probably related to some wonderful picture or carving of the event, exposed to gaze on the 15th of August, on which day, we are told by Barnabe Googe in *The Popish Kingdome* (p. 55),

“The blessed Virgin Marie’s Feast hath here his place and time,
Wherein, departing from the earth, she did the heavens clime :
Great bundels then of hearbes to church the people fast doe beare,
The which against all hurtfull things the priest doth hallow theare.
Thus kindle they, and nourish still the peoples wickednesse,
And vainly make them to believe whatsoever they expresse :
For sundrie witchcrafts by these hearbs are wrought, and divers
 charmes,
And cast into the fire, are thought to drive away all harmes,
And every painefull grieffe from man, or beast, for to expell,
Far otherwise than nature, or the worde of God doth tell.”

From the signs of the Virgin Mother of the Redeemer, pass we on to one of the virgin bride, first of Tonbert, chief of the southern Girvii; secondly of Egfrid, king of Northumbria. Etheldritha, Etheldreda, or Edilthride, as her name is variously written, was the daughter of Anna, king of East Anglia, and born at Exning, on the western borders of Suffolk, *circa* 630. In the year 660 she espoused Egfrid of Northumbria; and twelve years later (*i. e.* in 672) she severed herself from her royal partner, and entered on a purely religious life in the Abbey of Coludi, or Coldingham, in Berwickshire. The husband soon, however, regretted the loss of the beloved wife, and advanced towards her place of seclusion; and she, having no mind to re-enter on worldly affairs, fled to Ely, and there founded a religious house, over which she presided as abbess. The story goes, that whilst on her road from the north she lay down to slumber, planting her staff in the earth at her head: and that when she awoke she found that this same staff had grown into a vigorous tree, whose spreading branches shielded her from the scorching sun: hence she is not unfrequently represented

¹ The placing the child Jesus in the arms of the Virgin at the Assumption, is a thing too absurd to call for comment; but it is no whit worse than crowning the holy Mother at the adoration of the Magi.

reclining beneath a young tree, as in the lantern columns of Ely Cathedral; or holding a budding staff, as shown in the *signum* produced by Mr. Gunston, which is of fifteenth century fabric, and found at Brook's Wharf, 1867. (Plate 17, fig. 3.) This novel sign delineates the nimbed effigy of the chaste queen with her throat exposed, to remind the beholder of the seat of her mortal malady. The foliferous staff is in her right hand, and what may be a book in her left. In the rood-screens of the churches of Burlingham, St. Andrew, and Westhall, she is represented with a book, but it is not a common accompaniment with her.

This sign, no doubt, appertains to St. Etheldreda's shrine at Ely; but before speaking of her burial we must glance at the death of the royal virgin, which took place June 23, A.D. 679, and was caused by "a very great swelling under her jaw," as Bede (iv, 19) relates, who also tells us that "she was much pleased with that sort of distemper, and wont to say 'I know that I deservedly bear the weight of my sickness on my neck, for I remember when I was very young I bore there the needless weight of jewels; and therefore I believe the divine goodness would have me endure the pain in my neck that I may be absolved from the guilt of my needless levity, having now, instead of gold and precious stones, a red swelling and burning on my neck.'"¹ Etheldreda was buried in a wooden coffin. Sixteen years after interment her sister, Sexburga, who had succeeded her as abbess, caused the saint's remains to be exhumed, which, with the linen clothing surrounding the corpse, seemed as fresh as on the day they were committed to the grave. According to Bede (iv, 19), "by the touch of that linen devils were expelled from bodies possessed, and other distempers were sometimes cured; and the coffin she was first buried in is reported to have cured some of distempers in the eyes, who, praying with their heads touching that coffin, presently were delivered from pain or dimness in their eyes." Bede's account of the new coffin in which Etheldreda's corpse was deposited, is too curious to be here omitted. He says that Sexburga "ordered some of the brothers to provide a stone to make a coffin of. They accordingly went on board ship, because the country of Ely is on

¹ A string of pebbles naturally bored was called a St. Etheldreda's or St. Audrey's necklace.

every side encompassed with the sea or marshes, and has no large stones; and came to a small, abandoned city not far from thence, which, in the language of the English, is called Grantchester; and presently, near the city walls, they found a white marble coffin most beautifully wrought, and neatly covered with a lid of the same sort of stone. Concluding, therefore, that God had prospered their journey, they returned thanks to Him, and carried it to the monastery. The coffin was found, in a wonderful manner, as fit for the virgin's body as if it had been made purposely for her; and the place for the head particularly cut, exactly fit for her head, and shaped to a nicety." This grand "find" was evidently a Roman sarcophagus, with the interior shaped like the coffins of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

In closing this notice of Etheldreda we may add that Ely Cathedral is dedicated to her conjointly with St. Peter, and in six several counties there still remains a church named in her honour.

In course of time the name Etheldreda got corrupted into Auldrey and Audrey; and from this corruption is said to have sprung the word "tawdry," as applied to showy articles of small value, such as were sold at St. Audrey's fair, annually held in the Isle of Ely on the day of her festival, viz. Oct. 17th.

Having said thus much respecting the *signacula* of female saints, it now becomes our task to take in hand those relating to the male sex; prominent among which, for novelty, is one of Absalom, the rebellious son of King David, who whilst flying from the battlefield was caught in a thicket by the hair, and then killed by Joab and his followers. The sign produced by Mr. J. Cato has lost its lower half; but the remaining portion shows the unhappy prince suspended by his locks from the branches of a tree, the leaves of which resemble those of the oak. (Pl. 17, fig. 4.) This interesting example is of the fifteenth century, and was recovered from the Thames at the Steelyard, Nov. 6th, 1866. I know not to what locality this sign may belong; but Nugent, in his *Travels in Germany*, mentions among the relics in the church of Doberan, in the Duchy of Mecklenburg, a branch of the tree on which Absalom hung by the hair.

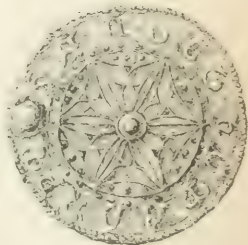
The *signacula* of our Saviour are by no means so numerous as might well be expected considering the quantity of

fragments of the crown of thorns and *lignum crucis*, the holy nails, lances, true blood, etc., which were displayed in various places. The "star of Bethlehem" is probably one of the most familiar signs of the Redeemer, and yet this cannot be called common. In the early ages of Christian art the star seen in the east is generally drawn like an heraklic mullet of six points. On the old clog-almanacks the Epiphany is marked by a many straight-rayed star; whilst the majority of the pilgrims' signs that I have examined are etoilles of six wavy rays, such as that produced by Mr. Cato, which is referrible to the close of the fourteenth century, and was found in Moorfields. It is noteworthy that this fine example has been gilt. (Plate 17, fig. 5.)¹

With exception of those of the Virgin Mary, the *signacula* of the holy persons of the Scriptures are greatly outnumbered by those of the saints and martyrs of post-biblical ages. We will divide the signs of these saints into two groups, ecclesiastical and royal, and descant on them in the order of time in which the several individuals flourished to whom they appertain.

The fame of Jago of Compostella and Ildefonse of Toledo have well nigh eclipsed the lesser lights of Spanish sainthood. But Spain has no lack of canonised worthies; not the least among whom is Narcissus, patron of the cities of Cordova, Gerona, and Seville; who, about the commencement of the third century, presided over the see of Gerona, and whose corpse was believed to have long existed untouched by corruption. Little is heard of St. Narcissus in England; and Mr. Cato may be congratulated on the acquisition of a sign of this ancient bishop, whose festival is set down in the Spanish calendar on Oct. 29. This singular, vesica-shaped *signum* displays in its centre the mitred bust of the prelate with an angel above, below, and on either

¹ A six-rayed star of similar form to the above occurs in the painted glass in Lincoln Cathedral, assigned by Mr. O'Connor to the thirteenth century. (See *Journal*, xi, 89.) The badge of the order of Bethlemites, who came into England in 1257, was a star of five rays. In ancient representations of the Nativity, the "star of Bethlehem" is at times delineated with a long ray pointing towards the Divine Infant, and which makes it look much like a comet. For an example see Hone's *Every Day Book*, i, 1610. The flowers called "stars of Bethlehem" are not dedicated to the Saviour, as might be expected, but to different saints. Thus the "Great Star of Bethlehem" (*Ornithogalum umbellatum*) and the "Yellow Star of Bethlehem" (*O. luteum*) are given respectively to St. John Nepomucen and St. Joseph, whilst another "Yellow Star of Bethlehem" (*Tragopogon pratensis*) is allotted to St. Yvo.





side, bearing him to heaven. It may be assigned to *circa* 1400, and was recovered from the Thames. (Pl. 17, fig. 6.)

In our *Journal* (xix, 98) is engraved a bugle-horn with its cords ensigned by a cross,—a sign of the famous St. Hubert, the date of which appears to be the end of the fifteenth or beginning of the sixteenth century. Mr. C. Brent places before us a sign of the same great patron of hunters, of about a hundred years earlier date, and presenting certain differences in design. (Plate 17, fig. 7.) The horn is surrounded with ornamented bands, and the suspending strap decorated with bossets, and divided into an upper and lower portion, the latter being occupied by an architectural trefoil.

It may be useful to note that the bugle is one of the emblems of the Roman knight St. Eustace, as well as of the noble Frenchman Hubert; but by common assent the *signacula* of this type, found in London, are given to the latter saint. This irreligious sportsman, this holy hermit of Ardennes, and finally pious bishop of Liège, died *circa* 825, and is commemorated in the papal church on Nov. 3.

The *signacula* of Thomas of Canterbury come thick and fast upon us, and, without intending any disrespect to the proud prelate, I cannot help echoing the warning wont to be given at the doors of “the Garden” and “the Lane,” *beware of your pockets*; for Becket has somehow been, and still is, the vehicle of much knavery and fraud; and at the present moment the market is regularly glutted with his false signs. The *signacula* now produced are, however, undoubtedly genuine works of antiquity.

To Mr. C. Brent we are indebted for the exhibition of a *signum* of Becket, which for size and character may justly be designated a portrait-bust of the fourteenth century. This is one of the Canterbury tokens; but Mr. Brent has two brooches relating to the martyr, which to my thinking are of French manufacture, of about the middle of the fifteenth century. (Plate 17, figs. 8, 9.) They both measure about an inch and a half in diameter. The field of one is occupied by a sexafoil, the margin by the words SACTE. THOMA. O. P. M. The second example reads, S. THOM. OR. P. ME.; and in the field is a sort of octafoil enclosing a cross composed of four fleurs de lys. In the British Museum is a circular brooch with a fleur de lys in the centre, surrounded

by the legend, SANCTE. THOMA. OR. P. M.; and Mr. Gunston produces one almost identical in every respect with the first described specimen. These brooches may have been sold to pilgrims visiting the relics of St. Thomas at the cathedral of Sens, consisting of one of his mitres, and the chasuble, alb, girdle, and maniple employed whilst at mass during his sojourn in that city A.D. 1166; or other of his relics preserved in the church of St. Bertin at St. Omer, which comprised his blood, portions of his brain, etc.

Fermails with legends relating to the Saviour, the blessed Virgin, and the three Kings of Cologne, have already been described in this *Journal* (xviii, 229; xxi, 84; xxii, 451; xxiii, 87); and Mr. Gunston now introduces to us one found in 1867, at Blackfriars, bearing the invocation, "St. Thomas, pray for me" (SACTE. THOMA. OR. P. M.). It is of the fourteenth century.

Our thanks are due to Mr. Cato for the production of a rare little bauble, which, from the letter T in its centre, has been regarded as a sign of St. Thomas; but I scarcely think it can claim connexion with this archbishop of Canterbury. (Plate 17, fig. 10.) It is of rather late fourteenth century make, and represents the four-leaved shamrock, which, from its crucial figure, may be accepted as an emblem of the Redeemer, just as the normal trefoil is of the holy Trinity. Both in England and Ireland the quatrefoil variety of clover is considered as a precious thing endowed with mystic potency. In Willsford's *Nature's Secrets* (p. 136) we read that "trefoile, or claver-grasse, against stormy and tempestuous weather will seem rough, and the leaves of it stare and rise up, as if it were afraid of an assault." And in Gerarde's *Herball* (p. 1187) we are told that "Pliny writeth, and setteth it doune for certaine, that the leaves hereof do tremble, and stand right up against the comming of a storme or tempest."

The *Trifolium repens* is dedicated to St. Patrick; but the T on the sign will not fit well with this good man's name. But it is the initial of *tonitrus*, thunder; and as we find the shamrock so sensitive about storms, may we not have, in the little rarity before us, a charm against tempests. Surely a quadrafoliate clover would make as powerful a charm as a bay-leaf or the houseleek, both of which we know were formerly carried about the person as thunder-amulets.

If this object be not a charm, but a pilgrim's sign, I must confess I know of no saint nor shrine to which it can be allotted, and shall gratefully receive any more valid explanation of its purpose than I am yet able to offer.

Among England's canonised prelates, Richard of Chichester holds a distinguished place, and, like Becket and other ancient churchmen, had his special *signacula*; one of which, of the latter half of the fourteenth century, was found at the Steelyard, June 13, 1866, and is now kindly submitted for inspection by Mr. Cato. (Plate 17, fig. 11.) In this sign the saint appears kneeling, and holding a chalice in his right hand, whilst with the left he raises its cover. The tabernacle enclosing this effigy is supported on a *tau*-formed base decorated with pearling.

St. Richard was born at Wyche (now Droitwich), a few miles from Worcester, A.D. 1198; and after studying successively at Oxford, Paris, and Bologna, was consecrated bishop of Chichester in 1245. It is said that after his election to the episcopate, he fell down with the chalice in his hand, but the wine was miraculously preserved from being spilled: hence he is usually shown with a chalice at his feet, or kneeling with one before him, as in the *signum*. De Wyche presided over his see until April 3, 1253, when he breathed his last, in the fifty-seventh year of his age, in the hospital called "God's House," at Dover. Florence of Worcester tells us, *sub anno* 1261, that "Pope Urban canonised St. Richard, bishop of Chichester, and appointed the 3rd of the nones (the 3rd) of April to be kept as the day of his entombment."¹ Many miracles are reported to have taken place at the tomb of St. Richard, the fame of which drew crowds of pilgrims to his shrine. In John Heywood's play of *The Four P's*, the palmer speaks of having been

"At Saynt Rycharde and at Saynt Roke,
And at our Lady that standeth in the oke."

Though St. Richard's body lay enshrined at Chichester, his admirers were gratified with the sight of one of his arms at Canterbury, where it was preserved in a case of gilded silver.² One church, viz. that of Aberford, West Riding of York, is dedicated to St. Richard.

¹ In the elog-almanacks St. Richard's day is distinguished by a ploughshare, and in Callot's *Images* the saint is delineated following the plough.

² See Appendix to Dart's *Hist. of the Cathedral of Canterbury*.



Quitting the *signacula* of ecclesiastics, we come lastly to those of royalty.

In my paper, "On the Kings of East Anglia," printed in this *Journal* (xxi, 26), so much was said about the life and death of St. Edmund that it is unnecessary to dwell on his sad history when describing one of his signs found at Queenhithe, Jan. 2, 1867, and exhibited by Mr. Cato. (Plate 17, fig. 12.) This rare example appears to be of early fifteenth century work, and though somewhat broken is yet sufficiently perfect to show that it represents a nearly nude figure bound to a tree, and transfixcd with three arrows. At the feet reclines a wolf, the faithful guardian of the monarch's head, which was cut off by the cruel Danes in Hoxne Wood, A.D. 870.¹ Besides the *shrine* of the royal martyr at Bury St. Edmund's, pilgrimages were made to his *effigy* at Hoxne, so that it may be a question as to which locality this most interesting specimen should be referred.²

The palmer in Heywood's *Four P's* brags that he has prayed

"At Mayster John Shorne, in Canterbury,
The great God of Katewade, at Kynge Henry."

The latest and one of the most interesting items in the present batch of *signacula*, relates to this same "Kynge Henry," sixth of that name, to whose tomb at Windsor many pilgrims flocked, and at which, according to old story, many a miracle was wrought. This sign belongs to Mr. Brent. It was found in the Thames in 1867, and differs materially from the one given in this *Journal* (i, 205). The lower part of the specimen before us represents a castellated building, intended, no doubt, for the Tower of London, the place of his asserted murder; and apparently rising from the ramparts is the demi-effigy of the ill-fated prince, crowned, and holding a sceptre in his right hand. The left, which supported the orb and cross, is broken off. (Pl. 17, fig. 13.)

The chronicler Holinshed gives the following narrative of "the untimely fall of virtuous Lancaster." "Poor King Henry VI, a little before deprived of his realm and imperial crown, was now in the Tower spoiled of his life by Richard Duke of Gloster (as the constant fame ran), who, to the

¹ The martyrdom of St. Edmund forms the subject on the face of the seal of St. Edmundsbury. (See *Gent. Mag.*, Jan, 1784, p. 14.)

² See Blomefield's *Hist. of Norfolk*. ii, 432.

intent that his brother, King Edward, might reign in more surety, murdered the said King Henry with a *dagger*, although some writers of that time, favouring altogether the house of York, have recorded that, after he understood what losses had chanced to his friends, and how not only his son, but also all other his chief partakers, were dead and despatched, he took it so to heart, that of pure displeasure, indignation, and melancholy, he died the three and twentieth of May (1471). The dead corpse, on the Ascension even (the 29th), was conveyed with bills and glaives pompously (if you will call that a funeral pomp) from the Tower to the church of St. Paul, and there laid on a bier, where it rested the space of one whole day; and on the next day after, it was conveyed, without priest or clerk, torch or taper, singing or saying, unto the monastery of Chertsey, distant from London fifteen miles, and there was it first buried; but after it was removed to Windsor, and there in a new vault newly inhumulate."

"The dagger that kyll'd King Henry, schethe and all," was among the relics preserved at Caversham in Oxfordshire;¹ and what seemed to strengthen the popular conviction of the monarch's murder was the report that *his blood flowed on two occasions after death*. Stow, in his *Annals* (p. 424), says that Henry VI's body was brought to St. Paul's in an open coffin, barefaced, where *he bled*: thence he was carried to the Blackfriars, and there *bled*. Shakspeare has availed himself of this report in the tragedy of *Richard III* (i, 2), where the Lady Anne, addressing the Duke of Gloucester, exclaims:

"See! See! Dead Henry's wounds
Open their congeal'd mouths, and *bleed afresh*.
Blush, blush, thou lump of foul deformity!
For 'tis thy presence that exhales this blood
From cold and empty veins where no blood dwells:
Thy deed, inhuman and unnatural,
Provokes this deluge most unnatural."

It is needful to be somewhat diffuse upon the events and feelings attending the death and burial of King Henry VI, for without they be held in mind we can scarcely comprehend why an uncanonised monarch should have *signacula* like sainted priests and virgins and other holy persons.

In the course of the several communications on *signacula*

¹ Mr. T. Wright's *Letters relating to the Suppression of Monasteries*, p. 224.

submitted to this Association, I have, in thought at least, borne our members from the boasted shrines of the metropolis to many dispersed about the country, and across the blue ocean to hallowed fanes in foreign lands, and have striven faintly to depict the feelings which once animated the heart and nerved the spirit of the ancient pilgrims; and now having finished my task, I may surely close my imperfect remarks with the touching words of *Childe Harold*,—

“Ye, who have traced the pilgrim to the scene
Which is his last, if in your memories dwell
A thought which once was his, if on you swell
A single recollection, not in vain
He wore his sandal-shoon and scallop-shell.
Farewell! With *him* alone may rest the pain,
If such there were; with *you* the moral of his strain.”

ON STOKESAY CASTLE.

BY REV. G. DE LA TOUCHE, B.A.

IN Saxon times nearly the whole of Shropshire was held by a Saxon thane by name Edric Sylvaticus. After swearing fealty to the Conqueror, this thane joined in a rebellion against his authority, in consequence of which his estates were forfeited, and twenty-three manors, besides several in other counties, were given by William to Roger de Laci, one of his Norman followers.

Domesday Book speaks thus of Stokesay :—“The same Roger holdeth Stokes. Here are seven hides geldable. The arable land is sufficient for fourteen ox teams. In demesne are five teams, and sixteen among the male and female serfs; and there are twenty villeins with eight teams, and nine female cottars. Here is a mill yielding nine quarters of wheat yearly, and here is a miller and a keeper of bees.”

In accordance with the feudal customs of the time, the manor of Stoke passed to a branch of the family of Say before the year 1165, when Hugh de Laci, in making a return of the knights' fees of his barony, states that Helias de Say acknowledges a service of three knights' fees; the knights to be between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and be

furnished with horses. Helias de Say died soon after this, and was succeeded by his son Hugh, who died in 1194, and was succeeded by a second Helias, who gives "to Andrew Fitzmilo of Ludlow, for his homage and service, and for twenty-three marks, the mill of Stoke and Wettlington, with suit of his men, and a messuage and meadow to be held in fee for a rent of one pound of pepper."

After this the Abbey of Haughmond, which had previously, in Hugh de Say's time, obtained from him the church of Stokesay, also obtained this mill "for the souls of Amicia, wife of Helias de Say, and of Hugo de Say his father, and Olympia his mother." He died before 1224, and by his will commends his soul to God, and his body to the church of Haughmond; also a merk of rent to that house, and six oxen, twenty-one horses from South Stoke, and ten quarters of oats in the barn at South Stoke.

Hugh de Say, a great-grand-nephew of Helias, between the years 1250 and 1255, exchanged Stoke for estates in Ireland with John de Verdun. The place, moreover, retained the name of Say, though the connexion with the family so called ceased so early.

This John de Verdun had considerable estates in Leicestershire; but in the 46th of Henry III, being one of the Barons marchers, he and several others were ordered to reside on their border properties, to check the incursions of the Welsh. He was active on the side of the king during the barons' wars. In the 54th of Henry III he was signed with the cross, together with Prince Edward, to go to the Holy Land, where he went accordingly. He married Margerie, daughter of Gilbert de Say, by whom he obtained the manor and castle of Weobley in Herefordshire, and a part of Ludlow. He died in 1274, and the feoffee of Stokesay at that time was Reginald de Gray; but it does not appear how he became so, and in 1281 he sold the manor and lands to John de Ludlowe. A rent of eight shillings *per annum* is reserved to John and Matilda de Gray, his wife, in lieu of all services, reliefs, aids, etc.; and for this John de Ludlowe was to give a hen sparrowhawk.

In the *Fœdera*, under the date of 1284, Laurence de Ludlow (the son of the purchaser of Stoke) is said to hold the manor of Stokesay for one knight's fee, under John de Gray, who held it under John de Verdun.

This brief sketch brings us to the time when the present castle was erected,—a structure which vividly recalls that period when the Welsh, but recently subdued, were a constant source of terror and annoyance to all persons possessed of property in the border counties. In the year 1291 a license was granted to Laurence de Ludlowe to fortify or crenellate with a wall of lime and stone his mansion of Stokesay in the county of Salop. I shall briefly mention the chief features of this very interesting structure, which may be observed this day.

The principal buildings are situated at the western side of a courtyard, which is entered by a gate-house of Elizabethan style, and of which the woodwork is in some places richly and very tastefully carved. Around the courtyard, hall, and tower, a moat extends, of an average width of about 22 feet. This was filled from a pool of water and a small stream which flows hard by. The foundations of certain offices which were constructed at a much more recent date than the original castle, may be traced in this courtyard. These included a penthouse over the well which supplied the castle with excellent water, and which is about 50 feet deep.

The chief buildings consist of a central hall connected at the south end with a singular tower which at first sight would appear to be of very irregular design, but which on closer examination of the ground-plan is found to consist of two polygonal towers, each face of which is equal; and, towards the rear, of five somewhat unequal sides. This tower is three stories high, and was originally surrounded on the side of the courtyard with buildings which seem to have been removed before the massive buttresses were built, which were, perhaps, erected in consequence of a settlement taking place in the walls causing a considerable crack in them. The apartments in this tower are reached by a narrow staircase which penetrates the walls. The principal entrance is a large door on the ground-floor; but another door, 7 feet from the ground, opens externally into the first story. Between this door and a flight of steps, distant 11 ft., there seems to have been a drawbridge, the timbers of which are still discernible in the walls. There is besides another external door to the second floor, since partly filled up, though the hinges remain inside. It is not easy to under-

stand the use of this door; but it has been suggested, with some probability, that it may have been for the purpose of hoisting up goods too bulky to be carried up the very awkward and narrow staircase inside; or possibly it may have been reached by an external staircase when the lean-to buildings mentioned above were in existence. The roof of the tower is conical, and defended by loopholes, which, as well as all the windows, had shutters.

Leaving the tower by the wooden way which supplies the place of the previous drawbridge, and turning to the left, we enter a very interesting and elegant apartment extending along the southern end of the hall, and lighted by windows uniform with those that light it. This room still retains a considerable portion of the highly ornamented wainscoting, and an elaborate chimneypiece of Charles II's reign. Besides the chief windows a smaller one was originally so placed as to command the gateway; but it would appear that when this was covered over, as it subsequently was, by the buildings of which the foundations have already been alluded to, it was supplemented by a still more recent ogge-headed window; and the former one was covered over internally by the wainscoting,—a fact which is supposed to have given rise, among the simple inhabitants of the place, to the belief that a secret chamber exists in the castle, from seeing more windows externally than can be found internally. There are, besides the above windows, two other very small ones at each side of the fireplace, opening into the great hall, enabling the occupants to see what was passing there. It has been thought probable that the ornaments of this room were added by Sir Samuel Baldwin, who lived here before 1683, and to whose memory there is a monument in the Temple Church, in which he is styled as of Stoke Castle; and it was, perhaps, in this very room that Sir Samuel was found by Mr. Yonge, in 1649, “as he rod the circuit, copying a book of arms of the gentlemen of Shropshire, finely tricked out.” This is mentioned in a letter from Sir Simon Archer, given by Dugdale in his *Diary*. An account, in a manuscript book, of a visit to Stoke about 1730, mentions several pictures as then in this room, namely “Charles I, Charles II, Theodoric Vernon, *alias* Vernon with the red hand, *alias* the proud Vernon, with a gold chain about his

neck, with a medal at the bottom." The same MS. also mentions several shields of arms displayed here.

Descending by an external flight of steps, which was originally defended from the weather by a roof, the great hall may be entered through a small trefoil-headed doorway. The principal entrance is at the other end. This noble apartment is 53 by 31 feet, and is lighted on the west by four lofty mullioned windows, all but one transomed with a plain circle at the head. Corresponding windows on the east open into the courtyard. Each window has a gable externally and internally. They are furnished with seats. The northernmost of the windows on the west side is open to the ground; and it is said that within the memory of man the remains of a drawbridge, to connect it with the further side of the moat, as well as the ironwork by which it was raised and lowered, could be seen. All this has, however, now vanished. The ancient timbers of the roof of this hall are still black with the smoke which ascended from the brazier as it stood on an octagon of stones at the upper end of it, and recall the imagination to the time when these old walls resounded with the revels of the retainers of De Ludlowe and his successors.

At the northern end of the hall is a staircase constructed of oak balk split diagonally, leading to the apartments in the northern tower, the lower of which is divided into two; the inner is at present laid with encaustic tiles of various patterns, but now arranged without any order. Among them the fleur-de-lis figures on several, as well as a griffin and the rude resemblance of an archer with a long bow. Above this is another well lighted apartment, built of wood and plaster, which was formerly divided into several rooms. Here may be seen an excellent specimen of an Early English fireplace with stone pillars, and finished above with a projecting awning of woodwork. This apartment did not evidently form part of the original design, since a portion of its walls has been built upon the roof of the great hall; and, besides, its form does not at all correspond with the stone-work on which it rests.

The basement of this portion of the building is a room several feet below the level of the principal hall, entered by an arched door at the north end. It is lighted by very narrow windows, and is furnished with a pit of about 20 feet

deep, which has been found to have at the bottom an opening on each side into the moat. The shape and position of this tower by no means correspond with the building with which it is incorporated, which suggests the idea—which upon examination of several small details becomes an almost certainty—that it was built prior to the remainder. Its walls are decorated with a rude arabesque tracery in fresco, which, however, has been executed in a bold and by no means inartistic style. In two places may be discerned the forms of the Tudor rose and portecullis, and here and there through the scroll-work are the figures of swallows in various attitudes.

Such is a very hasty sketch of some of the chief objects of interest in this building. The question remains whether there is any reason to believe that any portion of it has a higher antiquity than the license to crenellate given in 1291 to Lawrence de Ludlowe, or whether the whole is one design built at that time. A comparison of the architecture of the great hall with that of Acton Burnell has led to the belief that this portion at least of the building is earlier than the tower. The license to crenellate Acton Burnell is dated seven years earlier (1284) than that for Stokesay; but the tracery of the windows is of a more florid, and therefore more recent style. If this argument is to be depended on, it would follow that Stokesay hall was in existence previously to 1284, and therefore dates much earlier than the tower, which certainly was built after 1291. A careful examination of the masonry and plan of the buildings is quite consistent with this view. A stringcourse which runs round the moat side of the hall is continued round the tower; but at the point where the hall ends, a slight difference may be perceived in it: besides, the walls which unite the tower to the hall have all the appearance of being designed to combine two separate designs. Whatever may be said, however, of the relative ages of these portions of the castle, there can be little or no doubt about the relative age of the northern end of the building. This consists of what would seem originally to have been a tower, of which the battlements were in later times removed to make way for the timber structure spoken of above. The lower part, which is of peculiar and symmetrical form in itself, is united with the rest of the building at an angle so small as to preclude



the notion that it could have entered into the original design. It is not surrounded by the stringcourse which surrounds the rest; and at the point where this ceases may be detected an upright joint in the masonry, affording clear proof that a wall has been built here to join the tower with the angle of the hall. And lastly, a reference to the ground-plan shows that the interior does not correspond to the exterior. The interior shows the shape of the original tower, while the exterior has been modified by the uniting wall just mentioned.¹

Now it is tolerably clear from these facts that the three chief portions of this building, the towers at the northern and southern ends, and the hall between them, were not built at the same time, and tend strongly to confirm the idea that the northern end was built very much earlier than any of the rest, perhaps at the time that the Sais held the property; that the hall was added afterwards, probably when John de Verdun came into possession in 1250, or possibly when Lawrence de Ludlowe acquired the property in 1281; and then, as the mansion had acquired much importance, both from its size and position, an order for crenellation was sought for and granted in 1291, after which the south tower was erected.

Stokesay Castle has not figured to any great extent in history, nor even are the allusions to its existence numerous. It was, on the 27th of April, 1290, the resting place, for one night, of Richard Swinfeld, bishop of Hereford; the account of whose expenses was kept by his chaplain, John de Kemesey, and has since been published by the Camden Society. It is a curious document, as giving the supplies required for his lordship and his retinue. Lawrence de Ludlowe does not appear as host on this occasion, nor is his name even mentioned. The bishop appears to have purchased food for himself. It will be observed that this visit proves conclusively that some edifice existed on the spot prior to the order for crenellation; and we can hardly resist the belief that the present hall was part of that edifice, which strongly confirms the views of its date as given above.

We hear nothing more of the Ludlows, except that four

¹ This fact has hitherto escaped notice, probably owing to the ground-plan (very incorrect as regards this part of the building) in Turner's *Domestic Architecture*.

of them served the office of sheriff of Shropshire; and that ten generations of them held Stokesay in possession till 1497, when one of the ladies of the family married Thomas, son of Sir Richard de Vernon of Haddon in Derbyshire and Hodnet in Shropshire, and received Stoke as her portion. Mr. Vernon was living at Stoke when Leland visited Shropshire, and thus mentions it as he passed it on his way from Ludlow to Bishop's Castle: "Almost 4 miles from Ludlo,¹ in the way betwixt Ludlo and Bishops Castle, Stokesay belonging to the Ludlows, now to the Vernons, builded like a castel." And again: "The White Friars at Ludlo, a fayre and costly thinge, stood without Cowe gate by north. One Ludlow, a knight, lord of Stoke Castle or Pyle, towards Bishops Castle, was original founder of it. Vernon, by an heir general, is now owner of Stoke."

On the death of Thomas Vernon he was succeeded by his son, who died in 1570, and Stoke was sold to Sir George Mainwaring of Hampton, and Sir Arthur Mainwaring of Lightfield, by whom, in 1616, it was conveyed by a family settlement to Sir Thomas Baker and Sir Richard Francis; but together with other property in the neighbourhood was resold, in 1620, to Dame Elizabeth Craven and William Craven, her son. She was the widow of Sir William Craven, Knt., alderman, of London, whose reputation may be gathered from the following title of a poem dedicated to him by a writer of the day,—a curious specimen of the bombastic style then in use: "Mischiefs Masterpiece or Treasons Masterie, the Powder Plot invented by Hellish Malice and prevented by Heavenly Mercy, translated and dilated by John Vicars, dedicated to Sir Wm. Craven, Knt., and others because they are high topt cedars of Lebanon, chief magistrates of the famous city of London, and pious professors of Christ's Veretie." Sir William Craven, his son, was moreover a most distinguished and meritorious citizen, and by his great benevolence on the occasion of the Great Plague, and at the frequent fires which occurred at that time in London, as well as by his noble conduct in supporting the unfortunate Queen of Bohemia (James I's daughter), won the affection and esteem of high and low. He never married, and at his death the title and estates passed to a cousin of the same name: in which family they still remain, though the subse-

¹ The real distance between Ludlow and Stoke is seven miles.

quent history of Stokesay is more connected with the family of the Baldwyns, it having been let on a long lease to Charles Baldwyn and his heirs by the crown.

During the occupation of his son, Sir Samuel Baldwyn, who was a staunch royalist, Stokesay Castle received considerable notice during the civil wars. Its position in the valley of the Onny, between two high and precipitous hills, was of importance to the defence of Ludlow; and accordingly, by order of the Parliamentary committee, five hundred foot and three hundred horse were marched from Shrewsbury to reduce Ludlow by placing garrisons in the various castles in the neighbourhood. This party found that the royalists had demolished Holgate and Broncroft castles, which guarded Cowe Dale; "and placing Col. Colvine in Broncroft, to repaire and fortify it, they despatched Lieut. Riveling to view Stokesay. The place," says John Vickars in a quaint old work entitled *The burning Bush not consumed*, "was considerable, therefore the next morning wee drew up to it, and summoned it; but the governor, Capt. Dawsett, refused; whereupon we prepared for a storm, and being ready to fall on, we gave a second summons, which was hearkened unto, a party admitted, and it is now garrisoned for us." To the commendable prudence of the worthy governor we owe, perhaps, the preservation of this very interesting structure. On the other hand, it seems that the governor of Ludlow, "Sir Michael Woodhouse, one that cometh out of Ireland, procured all the garrisons for twenty miles round to turn out for his relief". They together numbered two hundred horse, besides foot, and with these, after marching to Broncroft and finding that garrison too strong for them, they came to Wistanstow, "within a mile of Stoak," and here, or somewhere in the neighbourhood, an engagement occurred, in which the Royalists were beaten. About one hundred were said to have been slain on the spot, and above three hundred common soldiers taken prisoners, with about sixty officers and gentlemen, and all their ordnance and baggage. This engagement seems to have been one of some importance, as it is noticed in most of the newspapers of the day, but with several discrepancies and errors; among others it is said that Sir William Croft, "the best head-piece and activest man in the county, was slain on the place," but on his monument in Croft Church the date of his death is given

as 1641, and this event as having occurred before Hopton Castle, whereas this engagement near Stoke took place in 1644. As, however, the monument was not erected till several years afterwards, it is most likely that the almost universal testimony of the public prints of the time as to the death of this gallant gentleman (as he is termed) before Stoke, is correct.

Some years ago, in digging the foundations of farm buildings on the opposite hill, the workmen came upon some skeletons, which possibly indicate the site of this engagement. The fact that this spot lies on the direct line from Broncroft, and is traversed by a very old but now obsolete road, tends much to confirm this supposition.

After this period, Stokesay, with several other castles in Shropshire, was, by order of the Parliament, "slighted," and it is not improbable that at this time the top of the north tower may have been removed; otherwise no injury seems to have been done to it, and the Baldwyns continued to live in it till 1727, when Charles Baldwyn removed to his mother's estate at Aqualate, since which time it has not been inhabited.

In bringing to a close a description of this venerable structure, I must say that the most important parts of this paper are due to the diligent researches of one¹ who, though she would prefer to have been passed over in silence on this occasion, may rest assured that her name will not be soon forgotten as connected with the preservation of this interesting relic of the past. Those who come after us will appreciate the care and thoughtfulness which have rescued this from the mass of ruins into which so many of these buildings have fallen, and at that critical stage in its decay when a non-resident might, not unnaturally, put to himself the question, whether the building might not as well be handed over to the tender mercies of the farmer, induced Lord Craven liberally to repair the ravages of time, and to banish the still more destructive works of the farm-yard.

As time goes on such structures as this, which bring us into such close contact with the lives and customs of our forefathers, must necessarily become fewer and fewer. The rotting of a beam, the loss of a tile, or of a pane of glass, commences the work of decay, which is speedily carried on until

¹ Mrs. Stackhouse Acton.

the whole sinks for ever from our care. A little expenditure now and then saves this, and preserves to those who come after us the very walls and roof which rang with the voices of the long departed, the rooms in which they carried on their domestic tasks, and we seem almost to converse with them and enter into their plans of rearrangement and improvement as we study the various changes they made in their dwellings. May we trust that the wise and liberal policy which has saved Stokesay Castle hitherto may still be persevered in, and that the present proprietor may, to use the expression of a very eminent man, "pay that debt which the living owe to posterity" by handing it down to those that come after, tenderly preserved.

HANS SPRINGINKLEE AND HIS WORKS.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

AMONGST the *petits maîtres* of German art in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, none better merit the attention of posterity than "Hans Springinklee of Nuremberg," and yet few have been more neglected. Indeed, beyond the short, feeble, and imperfect notices of Wendorffer, Doppelmayr, Bartsch, and Passevant, nothing whatever has hitherto transpired concerning him; and, as a necessary consequence, his name has all but disappeared from the annals of art.

Springinklee was, however, in his day, esteemed by his contemporaries as a skilful illuminator, engraver, and sculptor; and, although but few of his works have survived the neglect of time, such as *have* descended to us fully confirm the opinion formed by those who were best qualified to arrive at a just and proper conclusion on their merits and art productions. The particular circumstances, however, connected with Springinklee, which on this occasion I purpose bringing more immediately under our consideration, is his intimate friendship with Albert Durer, and the fact that from their youthful days until Durer's decease in 1528, they were—with the exception of those slight interruptions, occasioned by Durer's absence from Nuremberg—almost inseparable

companions, and that during the whole of such period Hans Springinklee proved himself Durer's sincere, oft-tried, and faithful friend.

Of the family of Springinklee no reliable information has been obtained beyond the fact of his having been born at Nuremberg, *circa* 1472. The precise period at which Durer and his friend Hans first became acquainted was, in all probability, at the Free School of St. Sebald, opened at Nuremberg in 1477, for the instruction of the sons of poor burghers, and at which Durer received the first rudiments of his education. On leaving school, Durer entered his father's workshop as an apprentice to a goldsmith, whilst Springinklee began life as an illuminator of books. He subsequently exercised his ingenuity in making designs for dagger-sheaths and other ornamental purposes, and especially of those circular drawings such as the ancient goldsmiths were accustomed to engrave on the handles of those ceremonial sticks of office then in such common use. Springinklee subsequently found employment as an apprentice *formschneider*, with Anthony Koburger, the eminent printer and publisher at Nuremberg, who also occasionally employed him to illuminate the capital letters of his various works. As is well-known, the somewhat celebrated Michael Wohlgemuth was also in the service of Koburger—and it was during that period that Albert Durer was placed for three years under his care—and, working in the same establishment, the friendship between the two lads grew more intimate, and when, on Durer's return from his "Wanderschaft," they met again in 1494, their good feeling had ripened into an enduring mutual esteem, which neither time nor circumstance ever weakened on either side: indeed, so thoroughly was the devotion of Springinklee recognised and appreciated by Durer, that very shortly after his marriage he invited Hans to his house, to aid him as a *formschneider*. From that period Springinklee lived continuously under Durer's roof until his decease in 1528, and formed a substantive portion of Durer's household. Time will not now permit me to enter into a detailed account of the domestic interior of Durer's house and studio, notwithstanding they are full of interest, and replete with information; a few incidents must, therefore, suffice. Thus in 1506, when Durer's arrangements were complete for a sojourn in Venice for nearly twelve months, he confided his

lovely but childless wife, Agnes, his mother, and his young brother Hans, to the protection of Springinklee, then a master *formschneider*, who kindly and faithfully discharged the trust imposed on him, and aided in the efforts to provide for the support of Durer's family, whose circumstances were then of the most straitened description. Again, in 1520, when Durer, accompanied by Agnes and her maid servant, went to Brussels, and the Pays Bas, Springinklee remained in charge at Nuremberg, and was there to welcome them on their return in September 1521. In Durer's long illness, which terminated in his death on the 6th April, 1528, none was more assiduous or attentive to his wants than his old friend Hans, who, having followed him to his last home, still continued his care and protection to the widowed Agnes, who survived her illustrious husband but a few years.

That Springinklee fairly deserved the character accorded him by his contemporaries of being a clever artist may be readily believed; but it is a singular fact that he seems to have almost abandoned any claim to originality of design, and generally to have attempted nothing greater than to copy or adapt the works of his more talented friend. It would indeed appear that the majesty of Durer's artistic powers subdued Springinklee's feebler mind, and prevented his executing any work which should even indicate an intention to create an independence of his own. From first to last, Springinklee devoted his very existence to Durer, who, to his honour be it said, both cherished and appreciated the value of his simple friend's attachment, and reciprocated it with a zeal and kindness which never waned.

Notwithstanding that I am unable to claim for Springinklee the credit of originality or inventive faculty, the comparatively few works we possess of him indicate, beyond all question, that he was a man of *considerable* talent, and quite capable of "holding his own" with credit to himself, and satisfaction to his friend.

As usual, critics have furiously disputed upon the actual position in art occupied by Springinklee. Thus, it has been recorded by Doppelmayr, that amongst other accomplishments Springinklee was a painter, and in that opinion Bartsch fully concurred. Considering Springinklee's intimacy with Durer, it is but reasonable to suppose that, being an illuminator and engraver, he would devote at least

some portion of his time and attention to that branch of art; but I am obliged to confess (notwithstanding the declaration in Jackson and Chatto, page 320, that Springinklee was a painter of some eminence) that I have hitherto been wholly unable to discover the trace of a single picture by him, or even attributed to him; and the total absence of his name from every known list of German painters, as well as the fact, that Durer's collection did not include a single specimen from Springinklee's brush, leaves no just ground for supposing he ever pretended to rank as a painter.

As an engraver, his works are better known; but it has been also very warmly discussed whether he actually engraved on wood or merely made the designs for the engraver. Bartsch doubts if he did more than the latter, and Zani is decidedly of opinion that he never engraved at all. Subsequent inquiry has, however, brought to light such facts connected with Springinklee as to leave no question that he did both; and, indeed, that such was his ordinary practice as a *Formschneider*. On this occasion I am unable to do more than refer you to the best authorities on the subject, viz., Bartsch and Passevent. I have, however, much pleasure in submitting to you some of his best engravings, and from them you will be enabled to form your own conclusions as to how far my declaration of Springinklee being a man of talent is well founded. Those engravings are to be found in his *Hortulus Animæ*, Nuremberg, 1518, and in his Bible, 1520, in the latter of which are his two largest illustrations, viz., "St. Jerome," and the "Adoration of the Shepherds."

The pleasure which Durer took in aiding his friend may be ascertained on reference to the *Hortulus*, wherein (*inter alia*) Springinklee adopted several of Durer's designs—to two of which I now desire to draw your attention, "St. Francis receiving the *stigmata*," and "the Trinity." A casual comparison will satisfy you that, notwithstanding the variation in size and finish between the two rendered certain variations and additions indispensably necessary, the composition, spirit, and feeling of both will be found to be identical.

The earliest engraving we have from the "burin" of Springinklee is dated 1495, the year he took up his residence at Durer's house. That engraving has Springinklee's monogram H.S., as well as the date. It is meant to represent that favourite subject of the old masters, and which Durer had



previously executed, viz., an elderly man caressing a young girl, and perfectly unconscious that she is availing herself of the opportunity, to abstract his purse from his pocket.

The first instance of Springinkle's copy from Durer is in 1498, when he imitated the well-known engraving representing the "Five Naked Women," and, as usual, added to it his monogram and the date.

Of his works as an "illuminator," I am unable to refer you to any instance, nor do I believe he continued that branch of art from the time he left Koburger's establishment and became a master *formschneider*.

As a sculptor in wood, he must have excelled, and, without reasonable doubt, many of the exquisite wood carvings of the period which still command admiration, but remain without a trace of the artist, are due to his skill. The works, however, with which he can now be identified as a sculptor are, unfortunately, remarkably few, and, I fear, limited to the three objects formerly in the collection of the late Mr. Heinlein, of Nuremberg, viz., the miniature likeness of Durer's friend, the renowned patrician of Nuremberg, Bilibald Pirkheymer, in mother of pearl, and two Bas reliefs in wood, the one representing "Prudentia," and the other "Adam and Eve in Paradise." Unfortunately I failed to obtain the likeness of Pirkheymer, but the two bas-reliefs I have now the pleasure of submitting for your inspection.

A few words upon the monograms adopted by Springinkle may here be usefully noted. Hardly any artist varied his distinguishing mark more frequently than Springinkle, the consequence of which has been to create much confusion, and to attribute to others, many works of which he is the undoubted artist. No less than four distinct signatures were adopted by him at different periods of his artistic career, viz. :—

1	2	3	4
HS.	HSP.	HSK.	H.S.P.R.I.

Of the foregoing, one only has hitherto been exclusively recognised as belonging to Springinkle, viz., No. 3 ; No. 1 having been attributed to Hans Schauflein, and No. 2 to Hans Sebald Behaim, whilst No. 4 has to the present time remained incognito, and, without any exception, its very existence ignored by all writers on monograms.

Want of time alone prevents my satisfying you that,

although Hans Schauflein and Hans Sebald Behaim *undoubtedly* used the monograms above-named as Nos. 1 and 2, nevertheless Springinklee, *as the senior of both by many years*, used each in its turn, before either of those celebrated artists.

With these introductory remarks, I will now detail to you the history and explanation of the two beautiful bas-reliefs of Springinklee I have already alluded to, and which I submit to you not only as being unique, but as works of high art in every respect worthy the reputation of a great sculptor, and possessing this additional charm, viz. that they are intimately connected with the domestic life of "Albert Durer," and were presented to him by Hans Springinklee on the anniversary of his fifty-third birthday (the 24th of May, 1523). In my humble endeavours to elucidate the meaning of some of Durer's beautiful allegories, I have, in my observations upon that improperly described as "The Great Fortune," made some allusion to one of these bas-reliefs, viz., "Prudentia." If, therefore, there be any one present who may have met with those remarks, some portion of my explanation this evening will necessarily be familiar to them, and they must excuse the repetition.

As before-mentioned, Albert Durer left Nuremberg in 1520, accompanied by his wife Agnes, and her maid Susannah. The place of their destination was Brussels, and Durer's express object in making the journey, to solicit from the Emperor-Elect, Charles V, on his arrival from Spain, the office he had held under his grandfather, Maximilian I, viz., the office of "Court painter to the Emperor of Germany," and which he succeeded in procuring. Whilst at Brussels, in May 1521, news arrived of the sudden disappearance of Martin Luther, of whom Durer was an ardent disciple. Durer's anger was loudly and pertinaciously expressed, the effect of which was, that he incurred the displeasure of the Archduchess Margaret, the Governess of the Pays-Bas, to the extent that she wholly withdrew her friendship from him, and effectually prevented the Emperor Charles V from ever sitting to him, or even giving him a single commission of any kind. To the sensitive nature of Durer this was a great blow, and he returned to Nuremberg a deeply disappointed, if not heart-broken, man. His indignation at the conduct of Margaret towards him may best

be comprehended from the following entry made by him in his diary :—

“I had the disadvantage in all my journeys, lodging, sales, and other transactions in the Netherlands, in all my dealings with high and low—and particularly the Lady Margaret who, for what I presented her and did for her, gave me nothing.”

It was to Hans Springinklee that Durer poured forth all his wrongs and vexations ; and, after many consultations as to the mode in which he should mark his sense of the unworthy manner in which he had been treated by Margaret, he made two drawings—one representing a nude female of elegant form, holding in her right hand a pair of scales, and pointing to them with her left ; and the other of a nude winged female in profile, standing on a globe or ball, her left arm being outstretched, and holding a bit in her right hand.

Happily, both those original sketches still exist ; and what is still more fortunate, they may be found in the print-room of the British Museum, in the precious volume of Durer's drawings preserved there, and numbered respectively 113 and 114. By the courtesy of the authorities there I received permission to have *fac-similes* taken of them, one of which I now present to you.

Of the two sketches, Durer decided on the winged figure, and ultimately engraved it in his best style, and thereby produced a work of art which cannot fail in all ages to ensure the admiration of every admirer of talent, viz., “The Great Fortune,” or more correctly speaking, “Temperantia,” of which I now submit to you a copy. On this occasion it will be out of place for me to enter upon an explanation of its wondrous talent, or the manner in which the great artist gave vent to his feelings. Suffice it to say that, whether as figure or landscape, it stands alone as a marvel of art, and is so acknowledged by all connoisseurs. The rejected drawing Springinklee resolved to turn to good account ; and accordingly carved the bas-relief I now show you, wherein he adopted the spirit and meaning of Durer's sketch, and produced the figure of “Prudentia”, as a special and personal consolation to Durer's wounded spirit. This figure, you will observe, holds a pair of scales in her left hand, to which she is pointing with her right. In the lightest scale

are two hands locked in the closest embrace, intended to typify the boasted friendship of Margaret for Durer, whilst the heavier scale holds a single feather, indicative of the worthlessness of that friendship, whereby "prudence" was enabled to offer to Durer that consolation he so much needed. Beneath this figure Springinklee carved the identical landscape engraved by Durer in his "Temperantia," and marked it with his monogram in very bold characters.

As a pendant to this bas-relief, Springinklee carved the other I now produce to you, and which also bears his monogram with the date 1523, and represents "Adam and Eve in Paradise" before the Fall, emblematical of "Perfect Love and Innocence." The interest of this bas-relief is immensely increased by the circumstance that under the figure of "Adam," Springinklee has given us a faithful likeness of Albert Durer ; and of his wife, the much and unfairly abused Agnes, as "Eve."

When, in 1509, Lucas Cranach, then Court painter to the Duke of Saxony, was specially despatched by the Duke to Nuremberg for the purpose of taking charge of the picture painted by Durer for the Duke, and representing the massacre of the Christians by command of Sapor, King of Persia, Cranach, during his stay, was the guest of Durer, and from that visit consequences afterwards arose of the deepest importance to Durer's future fortune and position, but which time will not now permit me to explain. The subject of "Adam and Eve" had, from his earliest apprenticeship as a Formschneider, been a favourite subject with Durer, who frequently took his wife as his model for the figure of Eve. In compliment to Durer, Lucas Cranach, in the course of the year 1509, produced one of his best engravings in wood, viz., that of "Adam and Eve in Paradise," wherein he adopted as the figure of "Eve" that drawing by Durer now to be found in the print-room of the British Museum. The woodcut is described by Bartsch in vol. vii of *Le Peintre Graveur*, page 279, No. 1.

The circumstances which led to the production of this engraving, as well as the adoption of Durer's drawing of Eve, were well-known to Springinklee, who was also perfectly acquainted with the important events which had resulted to Durer from this visit of Cranach. He accordingly selected Cranach's engraving as the basis for his bas-relief, adapted

it to the particular representation already explained, and introduced into it the pump which appears in Durer's wood-engraving of "Adam and Eve," in 1493. Animated by such affectionate and devoted feelings towards his old friend and his wife, it is not to be wondered at that Springinklee lavished every resource of his talent upon the bas-reliefs, nor that he felt he might, with all confidence, offer the pair to Durer without either fear or hesitation.

Accordingly, upon Durer's next birthday, viz., 14th April, 1523 (the day of St. Prudentius), Hans Springinklee presented the bas-reliefs to him; and, as may be readily imagined, they were received with every feeling of pleasure and satisfaction.

They remained in Nuremberg until a few years since, where they formed a portion of a celebrated collection since dispersed, and subsequently came into my possession.

Hans Springinklee survived Durer and his wife but a few years. He died in Nuremberg in 1540, and was buried near his friends, in the well-known cemetery of St. John in that town.

ON THE PARISH OF ST. PETER CHEAP, IN THE CITY OF LONDON, FROM 1392 TO 1633.

BY THE REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, M.A., F.S.A., V.P.

PAROCHIAL history can only be written from documentary evidence. Churchwardens' accounts and parish registers, wills, leases, and the like, form the materials for the purpose. The present paper is but a very humble contribution to parish history. It contains however, I venture to hope, almost every detail of any general interest to be found in a thick volume preserved amongst our local archives. The volume itself I have already described in a paper printed in this *Journal* (*ante*, pp. 150-160), and I shall not repeat the account there given. I have read the whole MS. from cover to cover, and now venture to lay before the Association the results of my labours.

In truth, I know not whether to apologise for brevity or

for prolixity. Some may complain that I have given too little annotation ; others that the extracts are too numerous. It has certainly been very difficult to refrain from adding notes ; and yet, had I once given way to the temptation, I know not where this paper would have ended. I have, in fact, contented myself with simply exhibiting the testimony of the records themselves ; and only in few and rare cases have I added any notes.

I have thought it desirable to classify the extracts ; and, although the arrangement here adopted is but rough and imperfect, I hope it may be found more interesting than a bare chronological succession would have been. I have treated the matters cited from the accounts in the following order :—1, chantries ; 2, the church fabric ; 3, wills ; 4, fraternities ; 5, payments to priests ; 6, font ; 7, pews ; 8, rood loft and light ; 9, the pulpit, sermons and lectures ; 10, organ ; 11, bells ; 12, vestments and church ornaments ; 13, inventories ; 14, floral decorations ; 15, religious rites ; 16, Palm Sunday celebrations ; 17, the Easter sepulchre ; 18, tapers and candles ; 19, washing of church linen ; 20, public occasions ; 21, foundlings ; 22, feasts, parochial and ecclesiastical ; 23, books ; and 24, price of goods and labour.

Sometimes the accounts are entered under the regnal years of the king or queen, sometimes under the common *anno Domini* reckoning ; but, in order to present some unity in this paper, I have converted the regnal year in all cases into the year of the Christian era, using for that purpose the admirable tables of Mr. Bond. The accounts are usually made up from Michaelmas to Michaelmas. The handwriting of the earlier accounts is that of a professed scribe, and at the foot of almost every year's entries, we find an item such as this : 1526. For the Ingrossyng of thys accompte, 1s. ; and, whether the entries be many or few, or the writing elaborately careful or somewhat hurried, this stereotyped amount rarely, if ever, varies. In the first half of the sixteenth century, the page is frequently headed by the Holy Name JESUS ; the signatures of the rector, the churchwardens, or other chief persons in the parish often attest the accuracy of the record. In 1534, I note the phrase, not found elsewhere in the volume, "in ready money."

Some of these entries, as for example the list of books, give in brief a sort of summary of the progress of the Re-

formation : and hence I have allowed myself a larger latitude as to the number of these items to be selected, than I should otherwise have done.

I must ask indulgence for the many deficiencies of this notice ; it has been prepared under many interruptions, and with very scanty leisure. One thing only I can say in its favour, and that is, that I think the accuracy of the citations may be very safely trusted. I have not depended upon others' labours, but have made every extract with my own hand. But I must not linger on the threshold of the subject.

I have designedly omitted passages that treat of parish property, for obvious reasons. Such passages would have had but small interest for archæologists in general : few, I think, would wish me to multiply excerpts such as this :—

1525. The tenemēt and bredehouse called the Old Swan' yn in Temys Strete belongyng to parysh chyrche of seynt peters yn Westchepe of London.

I. The earliest document contained in the volume relates to the foundation of a chantry for the soul of Sir Nicholas Farringdon : from which the following extracts must suffice :—

Plees of londe holden in the hustynges of london the Monday next after the fest of the Translacion of Seynt Edward Kyng and Confessor. In the xvj yere of the Regne of Kyng Richard the Seconde [1392 gives] to John honyngham Person of the chirche of Seynt Petir in Westchepe of london...& others...oon messuage, oon celer, two shoppes with two solers aboue edified and oon void place of londe conteynyng cxx fete in length and lii fete in brede with thappurtenāts in the pariss of seynt laurence pounteney of london in london'.

This land is given for the maintenance of

A couenable and honest Chapeleyn of good fame and conversacion by the name of oon Chapleyn for the soule of Nich'as of ffarendon in the said chyrche of Seynt Petir in Westchepe of london' divynely to syng, and for the helfull eastat of our seid lord the Kyng while he lyveth and for his soule whaune from this light he hath departed and for the soule of the forsaid Nicholas and for the soules aforseid atte awter of the blessed Mary in the south part or Chapell of the same chyrche continually to syng.

“The forseid chapeleyn” is not

to defyle or willyngly to contrary, or any grevouse trespas do, or be ouircome of custumable dronkelynesse, or...be rebell and comberous ageynst the person of the seid chyrche.

And he was to receive

x marc' in the name of his wages and salarye...yerely for cuirmore atte seid iijj termes of the yere by euen porcions.

We find a series of entries in reference to this chantry, of which I select the following :

1518. S'r Thomas Cart' syngyng for Sir Nycholas faryngdon for 1 q'rt' & di, cs.

It'm p'd to Mr. ball syngy'g for the seyde Nycholas the space of di a yere, iij*l.* vjs. viij*l.*

1534. The saide accountantes aske allowance of money payde to the prestes and to the clerke for their wages that ys to saye first payde to S'r William Abye syngyng for Sir Nich'as ffaryngton for a hole yere, vj*l.* xiijs. iiij*l.*

Item of money payde for the kepyng of S'r Nichāl ffaryntons obyte on Saynte Georges daye for brede ale pypens and wyne and spyce and butter for the brede, xxxijs. *vd.*

Item payde to the parson chirchwardeyns the prestes clerke and sexton, xiijs. iiij*l.*

1447. Syr Will'm barton ffaryndons preyst, xxxvjs., the chauntry preyst.

II. Let us now enter the church, and glance at the fabric with its furniture, ornaments, and chapels ; a little detail under this head may be the more acceptable since no view of the old church is known to be in existence, except the engraving in *Le Serres Entree Royale*, which shows the tower and the south chapel. This view was re-engraved by Basire for the Society of Antiquaries, and has been reproduced, on a small scale, in Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*. From casual notices in the registers and account books, I have been able to lay down a tolerably accurate ground-plan of the ancient structure. The church seems to have comprised a nave with two aisles, a chancel with chapels, a tower, a south porch, and a vestry with three chambers. This vestry abutted upon the Cock Alley.

1447. It. payde to a dawber and his man for makyng of the chirche wall ner the cok, vij*l.*

1475. IHU. Benefaktiō towards the makyng and feneshyng of owre vestre w^t y^e chambres. [Here follows a list of contributors' names occupying a whole page.]

1530. The priests chambre in the cock alley.

The parish priest and the chantry priests appear to have had the use of these apartments.

1519. S'r Wyll'm Abee, S'r Thomas hstocke, S'r Rauffe Yonge each a chamber.

1524. It'm off the Rent off the morow masse preests chambre whiche is gevyn hym, vjs. viij*l.*

1533. The paryshe preest for hys chambre, vjs. viij*d*.

Syr Thomas Dybon for hys chambre, vjs. viij*d*.

Syr Wyllam the morowe masse preestys chambre, vjs. viij*d*.

This vestry seems to have become the property of the parish in 1556 ; previously to which time the whole, or a portion of it, was held on lease.

1591. For ij newe rayles goeing the stares into the vestry, iijs.

1556. Paid for the purchase of the vestry and chambers, xiiij*l*. vjs. viij*d*.

1526. A key for the revestrye doore.

I find but scanty references to any monuments in the church : one, however, is mentioned, to

1570. Master Awsten hynde late alderman of london . . in the walle of the sowthe syde in the church.

The chapels are frequently referred to, generally in reference to some small repairs in connexion with them.

1521. It'm for mendyng of ye flower of seynt george chapell dore and oure lady chapell doore, iiij*d*.

1531. A wyndowr over seynt georgys chapell.

In the same manner many parts of the church are brought before us.

1528. The maydyns hall pace.

1595. The maids galary.

1519. An almery in ye vestrye.

1600. Item for stayinge of an excommunication for not mending of the steeple, xv*d*.

1556. Charges about a dial and a pent house over it.

Even the stocks and the common sewer are not forgotten.

1603. It'm payd to the smythe for iron work for the stocks, 00. 10. 00.

It'm pad for paintinge the stocks the some of 00. 20. 00.

It'm pd for the coman shore the some of 00. 02. 06.

III. "Syr Edmond Shaa Knyght late alderman of london" was a great benefactor to the church ; the volume contains a transcript of a portion of his will, in which he leaves to "the curate or his deputy ther and the othyr prests and clarks of the sayd paryssh church" some valuable property for the rebuilding of the church. There is also a transcript of the "Wyll of Syr John Shaa Knyght alderma' cytesyn and goldsmyth," dated 27th December, 1503, in which he refers to the will of his uncle, Sir Edmund, and directs that his

Executors shall cause ye said church of Seint Petur to be bylded and made w^t a flatte rooffe ; and also the stepull ther to be made up in gode and cōueniēt man'.

Of greater interest is the earlier will of "Robarde Botiller citesyn and goldsmyth of london," of which a copy is inserted; its date is 1470. After giving his

body to be beried in ye paryssh chirch of Seynt Petir in Westchepe of london wher ye body of Julian' late my wyf lyeth beryed

he proceeds to give many small bequests, of which the following are the most important for my present purpose.

To ye hy auter of ye seide chirch . . . so that ye person of the sam chirch pray for my sowle, xxs.

I bequeth to the sustentacion of the fraternite of ihu vndir ye cathedrall church of saynt powle of london so y^t ye bretheryn and susterys of the same fraternite for my sowle and ye sowlys a boue said deuowtly prey xls. sterlynge.

iv. I am indebted to the Rev. J. H. Lupton, one of the masters of S. Paul's School, for some interesting particulars with regard to this fraternity. Weever, in his *Funeral Monuments* (London, 1631, p. 380), tells us that under the choir of S. Paul's Cathedral, in a place called the Crowds, was "a large chappell dedicated to the name of IESU," and recites a confirmation of a grant to this fraternity under date 37 Hen. VI. Succeeding monarchs added their confirmations, Henry VII in the 22nd year of his reign, and Henry VIII in the 27th of his reign. Mr. Lupton has also furnished me with a long extract from Knight's *Life of Dr. John Colet*, for which I regret that I cannot find space in its entirety: we gather from it that Dean Colet was Rector of the Fraternity or Guild of Jhesus, and that he caused a body of new statutes and ordinances to be made for the regulation of matters concerning the guild. Mr. Lupton adds that the passage in Knight's *Colet* (pp. 75, 76, edit. 1823) is taken almost *verbatim* from fol. 61 of vol. xevi of Bp. Kennett's MSS. Collections. I must content myself with adding two references to Dugdale's *History of S. Paul's* (edit. Sir H. Ellis, London, 1818), where, at p. 76, will be found some account of the Jesus Chapel, and at p. 87 a notice of the Jesus Bells.

Another Guild finds frequent mention in the volume under consideration, the Fraternity of the Holy Cross.

1447. It' to paye to the mastyr of the Brethirhed of the crosse for crismesse q'art that is be hynde last passyd, xvjs. viij*d*.

1533. It'm, Reseyvyd [*sic*] of Joh Aberley and Edmūd Sprott collectors of the brotherhed of the hooly Cross thys yere, iij*l*. iij*s*.

1534. Receuyed of William Moreton collector of the brotherhed of the holy crosse. S'm, xlvjs. jd. ob.

The sums paid varied very greatly, as may be seen sufficiently in the above extracts.

v. This will probably be the best place in which to refer to the payments made to the priests and others attendant on the services of the church. The morrow mass priest certainly earned his scanty pittance, for he said mass daily all the year round at six o'clock in the morning.

1515. Syngyng brede and wyne. Also paid to ye p'son for brede and wyne for yis yere, ijs.

1518. S'r Wyll'm bulmer p'yshe prest yerely, vjs. viij*d*.

S'r Thomas bostocke yerely, vjs. viij*d*.

Mr. ball yerely, vjs. viij*d*.

1519. It'm payd to John bogas Clarke wages for a yere, vi*li*.

(The priests received this year, each, vi*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*.)

1524. It'm paid to John Bogas Clarke for his wages for a hole yere, vi*li*.

1526. It'm pd to S'r John Colyer for sayeng of the morrow masse by the assent of the hole paryshe, vjs. viij*d*.

1534. It'm payde to the morowe masse preste for his wages for one hole yere, vi*li*. xiijs. iiij*d*.

It'm payde for wyne and waxe to the morowe masse preste for one hole yere, ijs.

It'm payde to xpofer payne clerke for his wages for one hole yere, viij*li*.

1557. Towards the wages of the singing men for 3 quarters from two different persons, xlvs. each.

It'm payde to Cutburt Thompson syngyng man for one quarters wages, xxs. [Three similar entries.]

1601. It'm paid to Daye Jones sexton for his wages due at the same ffeaste [Michaelmas] and for broomes 00*l*. 02*s*. 00*d*.

By way of contrast to the small sums here noted to have been expended for the wine used in the celebration of the sacrament, let me introduce the subjoined extracts which occur at a later period. Independently of their interest from an ecclesiastical point of view, they are worth citing from the light which they throw upon the number of adult persons inhabiting the parish.

1561. Ffor breade and one gallon of wyne the 25 daye of october ffor cvijj comunycants, js. ix*d*.

(In this same year there were on July 19, 68 communicants; on [*sic*] 26 Dec., 96; 2 Feb., 56; 29 Marche, Easter Day, 112.)

Ffor a pynte of wyne the 13 daye of Aprill for xxij co'munycants at the marriage of Gabriel newman, 0*l*. 0*s*. ij*d*.

1562. ffor Breade and wyne for clxvii comuncie'ts the xjth of Aprill.

The wine used for the purpose is sometimes "malmesey," and sometimes "muskadyne."

vi. At the threshold of the church stands the font, of which I find no notice earlier than the following :—

1555. Itm to the sexton for keyng the ffonte, xij*d*.

1556. The font was repaired, a new cover of wainscot supplied, and the leaden lining weighing 101 lbs. repaired.

1573. Paide for makinge of the newe fonte, xli*s*. vj*d*.

1574. Pd for a joyner for makinge a cover for the font, viij*s*.

Pd for a locke to hange on the font, viij*d*.

Pd for a tin basson for the font, viij*s*. ix*d*.

1591. for burnishinge and mendinge ye pewter bason yt was in ye fonte, i*s*.

Pd to Mr. Newman yt he pd to ye Chancelor yt or funte might not be removed, v*s*.

Pd to ye plomer for a new funte of leade wayenge 4*li*. at 4*d*. the ponde and for a ponde of sodar, xiiij*s*.

vii. The pews will next attract our attention : and upon this subject the accounts are very explicit, commencing

1447. It' for mendyng of a pew next the chirche dor.

1529. mention is made of a pew doore.

These pews were allotted to various persons.

1533. It'm pd to a Carpent' for mendyng of my lady Mundyes maydys pewe, ij*d*.

1566-7. for a hynges for Mr. Alderman Avenons pew dore and for mendyng Mr. Alderman Duckets pewe doore, xij*d*.

Paid a free mason for mendyng a cracke on Mr. Duckets pewe and in the maids lofte, iiij*s*.

Those who prefer the quaint spelling of the word reintroduced some years ago, I think, by the Cambridge Camden Society, may find authority here :—

1570. Paide to a joyner for mendyng of dyvers pues at severall tymes, iiij*s*. x*d*.

But the seats which the parish greatly delighted to honour were those given to such of the parishioners as attained to the higher civic dignities. Witness the following series of charges in one single year :—

1572. Payde for payntinge over my ladye mayres pewe, x*s*.

Payde for a pece of sayes for my lorde mayres and my ladyes pewes, x*s*.

Payde for lattyn naylls and blacke nayles for my lord mayres pewe and my ladyes, viij*d*.

Payde for lace for them Twoo pewes, iiij*s*.

Payde to a plasterer for the whitinge over my ladye mayres pewe, xx*d*.

Payde to the joyner for the settill and for my lorde mayres pewe, iiij*li*. x*s*. iiij*d*.

Payde for xij*li*. of flax to make ij settills for my lorde maiors and my ladye mayres pewe at iiij*d*. ob., iiij*s*.

Payde for twoo elles and a halffe of canvas to make the same seates at viij*l.* the elle, *xxd.*

Payde to an upholster for trymminge the same pewes with sayes and lace and makinge the seates, *xs.*

Three years later some considerable additions seems to have been made to the seats in the chancel.

1575. ffor 25 wainscotts for the newe pewes in ye quere at *ijs. iiij*l.**
lvij*s.* iiij*l.*

It'm to the Carver for ij poppye heades, *ijs.*

It'm for underheadinge the same poppyes, viij*l.*

It'm for a payre of hinges to the ministers seate, iiij*l.*

One more collection of entries relating to the honours paid to the Lord Mayor's seat must suffice.

1590. Item paide to the joyner for makinge a newe pewe for my lorde maior on the southe side and est ende of the church, *xxxs.*

Item paid vnto him for dyvers newe sheildes and arrowes and other amendements aboute the greene men, and at the southe church doore and elsewhere aboute the church, and vij daies woorke of his man, xxvi*s.*

Item paide for wier to binde the arrowes and ye clubbes of the greene men, ij*l.*

I suppose that these "greene men" must have been part of the heraldic bearings of this highly honoured Lord Mayor.

1593. for the nomb'inge of all the pewes in the church, *ijs.*

1594. Paid for matts and hassocks for my Lord and my ladies Pewes, vs. vj*l.*

VIII. The rood loft may very fairly claim our attention next in order ; and, indeed, the entries relating to it furnish a clue to the religious opinions dominant at the time.

1447. It' paide to the wax chaundler for torches and bem lyght iiij*li.* viij*l.*

1533. Itm pd to the waxe chaundeler for the Roode lyght, vijs. viij*l.*

It'm p'd to the goodman gaats for payntyng of the Judas or stook of the Roode lyght, iijs. iiij*l.*

1555. Itm payde to Mounslowe for a newe Rode with Mary and John, vij*li.*

It'm geven to the workemen that sett up the Rode, ij*l.*

It'm payde for naylls and settinge upp of the creste all alonge the Rode lofte.

It'm for ix ells of canvas at vj*l.* the ell for to hange before the Rode, iijs. vj*l.*

1558. It'm payde for takyng downe the Roode and Mary and John, and for mending ij pewes, *xxd.*

Recevid of Thomas Clarke for the Rowdelofte to him sold, xxijs. iiij*l.*

Recevid of Web the Clarke for the broken peces of the Rowdelofte to him solde, *ijs.*

1531. Itm for a kaye for the rode lofte doore, iiij*l.*

ix. Near to the Rood loft stood the Pulpit, of which we will next speak, adding thereto a few notices of Sermons and Lectures.

1558. Itm payde for iij Sermons, *xvs.*

1563. Payde for an howre glasse, 00. 00. *xijd.*

1564. Itm paid for an hower glasse, *xijd.*

1567. Paide for a pulpet for Mr. Porredge to stande in, *xijs.*

1569-70. Paide for an homilye agaynst the Rebellyon in the northe, *vijl.*

1576. Item for a booke that Mr. Symson kepeth of the sermons and gatheringe by licences, *vijl.*

1584. Payde for a bolte for the pulpitt dore.

Payde for the hower glasse the *xxijth* of October, *xijd.*

Payde the same daie to the Turner for the foote for the hower glasse to stande uppon, *xijd.*

Payde more the laste daie of Januarye for *iiij li.* of cotton candells for the lecture, *xijl.*

1595. for 16 *li.* of candels for the Lecteurs, 00. 05. 4.

1597. Payd for Kandles for doctor Croke his sermons, 0 : 5 : 3

1600. Item paid for ij poundes of candeles when Mr. Bradley preached the *xix* of November, *xd.*

Mr. Bradley preached agyn the *xxiiijth* of November and Twoo poundes of Candles more were bought.

An inventory, dated 1633, enumerates the following articles pertaining to the Pulpit :—

1633. One hower glasse ; one pullpet ladder

One pullpet cloth of cloth of goulde edged with gould frence

One new green veluet cloth for the pullpet with a long green veluet cushion with his name Imbrodred given by Mr. William Hassellfoot Aug : the 3, 1617.

x, A brief series of entries relates the history of the organs.

1433. It'm for ye Orgons mendyng, *vjs. viijl.*

1522. Organyst. Payde to the organ maker for the new organys, *vijli.*

1524. It'm payd for *iiij* porters for Removynge of the organs into the Roode lofte, *xijd.*

It'm payd for mendyng of the lyttyl organs, *xijd.*

It'm for nayles for the same, *id.*

It'm payde to John Smythe organ maker for mendyng of the bellowes of the organs, *vs.*

1525. It'm for the bryngyng downe of the organs oute of the Rode lofte, *vijl.*

It'm paid for a kaye to the Roode lofte doore, *iijd.*

1526. It'm p'd for one of the yrons of the stoppys of the organs, *xijd.*

It'm for the ffoorme and the deske at the organs, *ijs. iiijl.*

1555. It'm payde to Howe organ maker for his ffee for kepyng the organs, *ijs.*

It'm to Howe organ maker for makynge sprynges to the doble regalls

and for tonges of the ij regalls which is called the pryncypalls in the base regall, ijs.

1556. It'm payd to Howe for ij new pypes for the organs and brasse to the regalls, ijs.

It'm for cordes for the bellowses of the organs, jd.

1566-7. Receyved more for the orgaynes sold by the consent of the whole parische, iiij*li*.

XI. From the earliest times of which this register takes cognizance, the bells appear to have called forth a very lively interest. In the year 1447 much work was done about the steeple and the bells, and we read

1447. It' paide div'se for halowyng of the bellys, xxjs. vjd.

But three years later we find the following long entry, sufficiently curious, I think, to be transferred in its integrity to these pages :—

1450. It'm. Be hit remembird that in the begynnyng of the monyth of Decembr in the yere of the Reigne of Kyng henr the vj^t xxvij^o Robt. Kyngson and Robt. Ragon beyng wardens the Bellys were halowyd the grete Bell in the name of the trinite the secunde Bell in the name of our lady and the iij bell in the name of Seynt Petir and the iiij Bell in the name of Seynt Myhell.

Here shewith the weyght of the Bellys.

ffirst the grete Bell weyth x^c a q^r xiiij^{li}

It' the secunde Bell to hym weyth vij^c iiij^{aa} xvij^{li}

It' the thrydde Bell to the grettist weyth v^c iiij^{aa}

It' the fourte Bell to them that was new made weyth iiij^c q^r xxvij^{li}.
memorand : that the new Bell weyth iiij^c q^r xxvij^{li} v^{xxli}. to the c weyth v^c xxxiiij^{li} p^d e c xxvjs. the whiche drawith in money. Sma' vj*li*. xvijjs.

Here shewith the weyght of the clapyrs of the said Bells.

ffirst the weyght of the grete clapyr to the grete Bell weyth xxxv^{li}.

It' the weyght of the clapyr of the secunde Bell weyth xxxj^{li}.

It' the clapyr of the thridd Bell weyth xxv^{li}.

It' the clapyr of the iiij Bell the lest weyth xvij^{li} and di.

After this minute account, which I fear will interest none but the most ardent campanologists, we come to the more important question : that, namely, of the fees to be paid for the use of the said bells.

1450. Be hit in Remembraunce that in the yere of our lord m^{cccc}. and the yere of the Reigne of Kyng henr the vj^t xxvij^o in the monyth of Jull vpon relyk sundaye the wardens of the chirche of Seynt Petir in Westchepe Robt. Kyngson vyntor and Robt. Ragon Grocer w^t the p'son and the cheve of the parysh cessyd the bellys of the same chirche as for ryngeyng of knylles and myndes.

ffirst the grete Bell cessyd at ijs. iiij*d*.

It' the next bell to hym cessyd at ijs. iiij*d*.

It' the next bell to hym cessyd at xx*d*.

It' the lest Bell cessyd at xij*d*.

Off the whiche money that is reysid of the said Bellys hallfe to remayne to the wardens of the said chirche and the tothir hallfe to the clerk of the sayd chirche.

In 1526 the churchwardens with "Syr Robart Collbee Curatt" and the "cheffe of p'ysioners" met again to assess the charges for "ryngyng of knylls" and making of graves. The Bells enumerated are the great bell, the next, the second, the first, and the saunet bell: and we find the following entry:—

1526. The Ryngyng of all the bellys at anye solemne buryall both Dyryge and masse, xvjd.

Besides these entries there is little worth citing, unless, indeed, we may include the following:—

1522. Recevyd of a drap' for hys wyfs pytte and for the knyll xiijs. iiijd.

1591. Re'd of my Lady Allot for the use of the gret bell at the deathe of Sr John Allot Knight and Lorde Mayor of london, vjs. viijd.

1600. Item paid for oyle to oyle the belles on the coronation daye, vjd.

XII. In vestments the church was peculiarly rich. I will not do more than refer to the inventory already printed in the present volume of our *Proceedings*. A few scattered passages in the accounts may, however, claim insertion here.

1447. It paide the xxvj daye of ffenerer to a Soverygane for halowyng of vestments, xijd.

1475. Benekfatiō to ye newe vest' of blew clothe of gold.

[A page and a half of names of contributors follows.]

1561. A coope of blew velvet and clothe of gold, ij*l*. vjs. viij*l*.

A vestment of white damask, xvjs.

A blew velvet vestment, xs.

XIII. Besides the elaborate inventory just referred to, another inventory was taken in 1518, from which I will extract only a few of the most noticeable matters.

Vestments.—It'm a vestement for seynt nicholas.

It'm a litell Tynycle for the Bisshop with a red vestemēt of silke w'out an albe.

Aulter Clothes.—It'm a clothe for the lenacyon tyme with the pictur of the crucifix.

It'm a clothe for Purifying of Women.

It'm a red Crowche and a myter for the chylde bysshoppe.

It'm a myter for the Bysop of clothe of Sila' garnyshe w' venys gold brotherd.

It'm a napkyn of dyap for holybred of the gift of Mastres Moltham.

It'm the Paschall with cheynys and other necessities.

It'm iij Images for the Resurrexion.



Candelstickys.—It'm ij standardys Candell stickys of latten.
 It'm viij prickettis Candell stickys of latten.
 It'm—litell candelstickys of latten in the roode loft.
 It'm a haly water stocke and a strynkyll [*sic*] of latten.
 It'm a sacryng bell of latten.
 Bokys.—It'm ij Cowchars.

This inventory seems to have been prepared and attested with great care : at its foot is the following certificate :—

Hoc Inueter qd in istis p'ris tribis foliis exhi't fuit corā me Johē Calypolen' Epō Archnō London' p'mo die ffebruarii a^o d'ni m' quīgetesio xviij.

Jo. Calypolen.

In 1663 another inventory was taken : by this time the communion plate had dwindled down to

One communion cupp all gilte with a couer
 One p'cell gilte cupp, with a couer to it
 Two pewter flaggons for wine.

The only other noticeable items in the inventory, not inserted elsewhere in this paper are :—

Itt' 36 lether Bucketts in the Churche.
 Itt' 2 boxes to gather Almes in.

In addition to the inventories, we find from time to time records of the purchase or repair of divers ornaments, vessels, or articles of furniture for use in the church. I transcribe the most remarkable of these.

1522. It'm for mendyng of ye portatyvys that serve for owre lady masse.

1523. Payd to the Rentars of the Goldsmythys for a Cest to kyp the Churche plate in, vjs. viij*d*.

1526. It'm p'd for iiij tuckyng gurdylls for the preests, iiij*d*.

It'm for the mendyng of the great berall crosse hed that was broken, viij*d*.

It'm for the mendyng of the holy crosse the shyttyng in of the hed, xij*d*.

It'm for a berall for a lyttyl monstrance and for the mendyng of it and for ij Rubyes for it and a crosse in the toppe of syllu' and gyllte, vs.

1528. It'm payd for ij new crewetts, ix*d*.

1534. It'm payd for holy water sprynkyllys, ij*d*.

1535. It'm payde for makynge and payntyng of a lenton crosse, xvij*d*.

It'm payde to the marbler for a aulter stone, xiijs. iiij*d*.

It'm for ij yardes of clothe to make ij passion banners, xvij*d*.

It'm payde for a pascall bason, xvjs.

It'm for Judas Candell weyinge ij^{li}, ijs.

It'm for a pascall taper weyinge viij^{li} for the makynge and the waste thereof, ijs. iiij*d*.

It'm for a Rope to hang the paskall bason by, *xijl.*

It'm for a deske called a fawton w^t feete of lyons all latten, *iiijl. vijs. viijl.*

1557. It'm to lewes the copper smyth in gutter lane for the Image of Saynte Peter, *ls.*

1558. It'm payde to the sexton for makynge cleane the leetune deske, *vjd.*

1559. Item payde for Caringe the Egele of Bras, *vjd.*

Item paid to the ffremason for Cuttinge away St. Peter's Tabernacle and the holywater stock &c.

1561. A munster of silver gilt, a chalice & paten, a paxe, *xijli. vijs. jdl. ob.*

1564. Item payde for seven panes of Imagerie woorke in glass &c.

1568. Paide for iij doges of yren pōis *xxiiij^{li} di* at *iijd.* the *j^{li}*, *vjs. jdl.*

1571. Payde for halff a dozen of syse candelles on Christermas eve to eveninge prayer, *viijdl.*

1584. Payde to the joyner for the little deske for the service booke, *xijdl.*

Payde to the smythe for the feete of yron for the same deske, *xd.*

1585. Paide for translatinge and makinge up the herse clothe with the fringe that lacked & for cuttinge oute the reste of the old stuffe for two Cussinges, *vijs. vjd.*

1600. The great yron barred cheste which standeth at the upper ende of the Church [of which the Parson and Churchwardens had the keys: and the contents of which were] not to be seene but by the consent of the wholle bodie of the p'ishe or the Chiefest of them.

XIV. On the greater festivals the church was decked with flowers, a custom still retained in the church of S. Matthew, Friday Street, which is now the parish church for the inhabitants of S. Peter's parish. It is no re-introduction here, but the graceful and significant practice has been continued on Christmas Day, Easter Day, and Whit-Sunday from ancient times. We will take the festivals in the order of the Christian year.

Christmas Day.—1534. It'm for holly and Ivey at x'pas, *iiijdl.*

1567. Paid the goodman Wooddes to buy holly & ivye agaynst Christmas, *vjd.*

1572. Payde for hollye Rosemarye and bayes on christenmas daye for the churche, *xijdl.*

1600. Rosemary and bayes at Christide 1599, *iijs. iiijdl.*

Palm Sunday.—1532. boxe, palme, & flouwrys on pallme Sondag.

1556. It'm for palme flowers and cakes for palme Sondag, *xijdl.*

Perhaps these cakes were to be cast from the steeple for the boys of the parish to scramble for.

1557. It'm payde for palme & Ews on palme Sondag, *vijdl. ob.*

1565. Payde to the sexton on palme sonday for hearbes, *ijdl.*

Easter Day.—1598. P'd for yerbes on Easter daye, *00. 01. 60.*

Ascension Day.—1555. It'm for garlondes and strawynge herbes for assension daye, *vjd.*

Whit Sunday.—1534. It'm for garlondes on White Sondaie corp' x'pi Daye, holy thursdaie & saynte peters Daye, ijs. vjd.

1600. Item paid for hearbes and floures on Whit sondaye, xvijjd.

The lesser festivals had also their floral decorations.

Corpus Christi (The Thursday next after Trinity Sunday).—1555. It'm for garlondes of Roses on corpus x'pi daye, vd.

1447. It' the xxij daye of maye for flaggs and Garlonds for corps cristy daye, ijd.

1521. It'm for rose garlonds for corps cysty daye, xjd.

Midsummer Day. S. John Baptist.—1534. It'm for byrche at mydsom', ijd.

1565. Paid for strewinge herbes and birch for the churchē at mydsomer, vjd.

Lammas Day, August 1.—1557.—It'm payde for garlondes and flowers on lammas daye, ijs. vjd.

To these may be added the following :—

1534. It'm p'd for caryeng of Russhes oute of the churchē, viijd.

1583. Inprimis for yerbes to strawe the churchē, ijs.

1599. Item paid to the Sexton for Rosemarye and bayes and pack thread, iijs. iiijd.

xv. Perhaps no entries can be found more interesting than those which relate to religious rites. The minute detail and completeness of the account now subjoined, are sufficient, I think, to justify its being printed in *extenso*. This extreme minuteness adds a great charm to early records.

1555. Charges for halowyng the Aulters.

It'm for a ell and a halffe of fyne clothe, ijs.

It'm for a pounce of frankensence, iiijd.

It'm for oyle olyff, ijd.

It'm for coles, iiijd.

It'm for Red wyne, ob.

It'm for Isopp, ijd.

It'm a ell of corse canvas, iiijd. ob.

It'm for small wexe candell, ijd.

It'm for iiij queyer of browne paper, iiijd.

It'm for water, jd.

It'm to ij prestes, iijs.

It'm to the bysshoppes s'unts and for hyer of copes, xijd.

It'm to the bysshoppes suffrican, xxs.

It'm a nother elle of corse canvas, iiijd. ob.

S'm pagine—xxvijs. iiijd. ob.

xvi. The observances of Palm Sunday, Good Friday, and Easter Eve find abundant illustration. I have selected such charges as seem to throw most light upon the religious customs of the time. As those who desire to pursue the

matter further will find in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* and in kindred works, summaries of these practices, I have not thought it necessary to repeat information which can be obtained from such accessible volumes.

Palm Sunday.—1447. It' payde on Palme Sundaye for brede & wyne to the Reders of ye passion, *iiij* *d*.

1519. It' for hyering of the heres for the p'fetys uppon palme sondaye, *xij* *d*.

1521. It'm spent uppon palme sonday for eaks flowers box & palm, *vij* *d*.

It'm for nayls for ye frame on' the church dore, *jd*.

It'm for lathe & naylys for the skafolde, *ij* *d*.

It'm for brede ale & wyne uppon palme Sondaye, *vjd*. ob.

It'm for the hyer of ye heyr for the profytts, *xij* *d*.

It'm for pynnys for the sepulcore, *ij* *d*.

1522. It'm for hyre of heys for ye profytts uppon palme Sondaye, *xij* *d*.

1523. It'm for bred wyn & alle for them that Rede the pasyon, *vjd*.

1525. palme sondaye. It'm for lathe naylles & hooks for the pageants and for setting up of the same, *xd*.

1529. for pynnys for the sepulcre clothe.

1529. It'm payd for bowes flowrys caaks & for pynnys for lathys & for making of the fframys on palme sondaye, *ijs*.

1526. It'm for the boords making und' seynt Roocke and byfore the passyon.

1534. It'm p'd for the setting up of the stages for the prophetts on Palme Sondaye ande for nayllys, *iiij* *d*.

The most curious of these entries is that which is thrice repeated, under the dates 1519, 1521, and 1522, and which records the hiring of "heres," "heyr," or "heys" for the Prophets. I confess that I cannot explain this; but I would venture to ask whether it may possibly mean "hair," and may be explained to refer to the hiring of some wigs or other costume for these "Prophets." I observe in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* a corresponding entry from the Churchwarden's Accounts of the Parish of S. Mary-at-Hill in the city of London: "Paid for the hire of the rayment for the Prophets, 12*d*," under the date 1531. The amount paid is the same as that charged in the accounts of S. Peter Cheap; and probably the passage just cited may be fairly taken as the interpreter of the items in question.

XVII. The Watching of the Sepulchre forms the subject of a considerable number of entries:—

1527. It'm payd for watchyng of the sepulchre & for pynnys & naylles and other necessaryes to hange up the clothe and for wat' apon good frydaye and on Ester Evyn, *xij* *d*.

1527. It'm payd a Reward to Ambros Barkar's s'vante for lendynge of the clothe that henge abowte the sepulchre by consent was droppyd w^t candyll, ijs. iiij*l*.

1555. It'm payde to the carpenter for mendynge of the sepulchre, xx*l*.

It'm for watchynge the sepulchre at easter and for brede and drynke for them that watched, ijs.

It'm for ij sakks of coles for the watchmen and to make ffyer w'all on Easter Eve, xvij*l*.

1532. It'm p'd for watchynge on goode frydaye & on East^r Evyn & for drynke for the watchers, xij*l*.

I am not sure that I understand the following :—

1447. It' paide for a gal'on of wyne whiche was yevyn to synnam and to bogye for gederyng of money on good frydaye, viij*l*.

unless, indeed, it is explained by the item quoted by Brand from Coate's *History of Reading*: "1499. It' rec' of the gaderyng of the stage play, xvijs." Bogye, or Bogas, was parish clerk.

The two extracts now subjoined supply a record of customs not elsewhere noticed in the volume under consideration.

1588. Payde for p'fume at M^{ris} Palmers buriall, iiij*l*.

1603. It'm paide for the perfuminge the Churche the some of 00. 20. 00.

XVIII. Tapers and candles cost no small sum in the course of a whole year.

1447. It'm recevyd at Est' for howselyng money toward the candyllyse, vijs. vij*l*. ob.

It' payde for a newe torche weyng x^{li} & di at v*l*. the ^{li}. Smā iijs. v*l*.

1519. It'm payde for iij torchys to whytyng weying xlvij^{li} iij^{qt} ye li. v*l*. Som' xxvijs. vij*l*.

1533. It'm payd for oylle and candyll spente in the Churche all the hoole yere, xvijjs. iiij*l*.

It'm payd for ij^{lb} of candylls, ij*l*. ob.

1557. It'm payde for xvj^{lb} of cotton candells at ij*l*. the lb., iijs.

1561. Payd for vj poundes of candeles to the Sexton for Rynginge at viij a clocke, xvij*l*.

XIX. The accounts do not disdain to notice the amounts disbursed for washing the church linen.

1433. It'm for waschyng of albys and sowerplys & other clothys for iij yer, vjs.

1534. It'm payde to the launder for washyng the churche naprey for one hole yere, vjs. viij*l*.

It'm p'd to the curate for wasshyng the Corporal clothes, iiij*l*.

1555. It'm payde to John Wescott for washyng the churche linnen yerely, vs.

xx. The Register supplies a rough index to many public events, some of national, some of merely local interest.

1518. It'm for beryng of ye copys Into Sowthwarke at the comyng in of ye legate, *iiijd.*

1556. It'm payde to Ryngers the xxvij day of marche when the kynge and quene came through the cite, *vjd.*

1567. Paid for my goinge by water to my lorde of Canterbarye in februarye, 1566, *xijd.*

Paid the 18 of November for ryngyng in remembrance of the Queens maties coronation, *xijd.*

1571. Payde for caryinge awaye of Three loade of snowe in the greate frost, *xijd.*

Geven to the Ringers for the victorie over the Turk and at the thawgt of the quenes maties reigne, *xvjd.*

1584. Payde the xijth of marche for redde wands (?) for them that have the plague, *jd.*

Payde...for mendinge of the wyndowe ouer the Church dore where the waights goe thorow.

These "waights" or musicians were accustomed to play, standing upon the leads of the church, when any procession passed along Cheapside.

1587. Payde for Ringinge the belles on the quenes daye and breade and drinke, *ijs. iiijd.*

1587. Payde for Ringinge the Bells on the quene of Scotts daye, *ijs.*

1591. P'd to Mr. Collens for ye wryting owt of a precept yt came from ye heigh Commissbyoners for sherching of papists, *xvjd.*

1594. Paid for the parish duetie for the relief of soldiers after *ijd.* by weeke for the whole yere, *viijs. viijd.*

1603. It'm paid to maymed sowldyers the sume of 00. 00. 02.

1603. It'm paid for Removinge the stocks, £00. 00. 06.

xxi. Much might be said as to the number of foundlings discovered in the parish: their history, poor little ones, may soon be told; found, baptised with Peter for their surname, and in general buried very soon afterwards—a few entries comprise their sad story.

1587. Payde for christeninge the childe and Blancketts that was layde at Henry Byrams dore, *vs.*

1588. Item payde to a woman brought a bedde at our Church dore to comforte her, *vs.*

Payde to Mr. Everard for charge he layde out for a childe at his dore, *xxvijs. viijd.*

1594. Paid Mr. Parries for the Reliefe of a woman brought in bedd in the Parish in the Church dore and for releif of another visited wth the plauge by consent, *xlijs. iiijd.*

1601. It'm paid for 6 yards $\frac{1}{2}$ of cotton to make an upper cote and two petticotes for the Childe found in the p'ishe, 000. 12. 00.

xxii. The citizens of old seem to have been by no means

backward in finding occasions for friendly gatherings. The religious festival, or the business meeting, seem to have begun or to have ended not unfrequently with a breakfast or a dinner. The following entries of such parish festivities may seem numerous, but are certainly not without an interest of their own.

1447. It'm receuyd the xxvij daye of Maye for a drynkeyng in the chirche, xvijjs. iiij*d*.

It' payde the xxvj daye of Maye for chese at the drynkyng of Stodell Kyldirkyng ale, x*vd*.

It' paide for wyne whan we wer to gedyr, *vd*.

It' payde in expence at the wyne w^t the chirche wardens of seynt brydys, iiij*d*. ob.

It' paide on seynt georgs daye for ffaryndons mynde as hit shewyth in a byll, xxxiijs. j*d*. ob.

1518. It'm payde for drynkyng in ye churche upō twelfe day, j*d*.

It'm delyv'd to ye clarke to make ye syngyng mē drynke (lammas daye), x*vd*.

1522. It'm spent then for drynkyng whē Mr. Warley and othyr of ye p'ishe went to vyewe ye wharfe (old Swan Wharf), ij*d*.

1526. It' p'd for drynke on seynt petyrs day at mydsom' for the preste and clarks, vj*d*.

1527. It'm p'd to Mast' Passhe upon lamas daye for hys dyner and the syngers at the Egyll, xs.

1528. It'm payd for brede ale & wyne on Sey't pet's daye Sett garlyke, viij*d*.

1530. It'm payd to the clerke for brede & ale & wyne on o'r dedy-cacyon daye that ys to saye on seynt ffrauncis evyn, viij*d*.

1534. It'm payde for wyne brede and ale spente on saynte peters daye called Sette garlyk, viij*d*.

It'm p'd for brede ale and wyne for the syngers on Seynt Petyrs Daye called Cathedra Seti Petri in ffebruary, viij*d*.

1589. Item paide for the P'son Curate Churchwardens and Sydemmen their dyners at the Visitation, viijs.

1590. [After a dinner costing vjs. vj*d*. there was] given to the mayde by consent, viij*d*.

1594. Paid on Assencion daie for the dynn' of those that went about the bounds of o'r parish, xxvijs. vj*d*.

1595. For a denner on A'senscyon daye, 00. 07. 0.

1599. Item paide...for the p'ishioners dinner at the flying horse [at the Archdeacon's Visitation], xxxvs. viij*d*.

I have, on more than one occasion, successfully attempted to revive the Ascension Day dinner: such friendly meetings, at which "Parson, Curate, Churchwardens, and the Chief of the Parish" meet together, are, in my poor judgment, much to be encouraged.

XXIII. Dry enough in its bare detail, yet very curious when considered in connexion with the changeful history of

the period over which it extends, is the following series of extracts recording the purchase of books for the use of the church or parish.

1530. It'm paid for ij processyonaryes & ij ympnalls in pryntte price of all, *vjs. xd.*

1556. It'm for a boke of homyles, *ijs. viijd.*

It'm for iij large precessioners, *vjs. vjd.*

It'm for thre greylls and one Antyphoner, *iiij*l*. xiijs.*

It'm for one legende boke, *viijs.*

1559. Item paid for the greate Bybell, *xxvjs. viijd.*

Item paid for a Sarvis Boke, *ijs.*

Item paid for the one haulfe of the Paraphrases *vjs.*

Item paid to Web for xxj songe bokes, *xxs.*

1560. Item paide for a bouke of articles, *ijd.*

Item paide for the table for the Tenne Commandments, *vs.*

1562. Ffor sixe bookes of the uniforme of prayers to be used in the tyme of plage, *xs. iij*d*.*

ffor the booke of homelyes, *iijs.*

1563. payd for iij books of Prayer and thanksgevinge for withdrawing the sycknes, *000. 00. iiij*d*.*

for certen Injunctions set foorth by the Quenes Maiesty, *000. 00. *vd*.*

for a Chayne for the Byble, *000. 00. vjd.*

1564. Item payde for foure prayer bookes against the turke, *iiij*d*.*

Item payde for three bookes of thankesgevinge for the turkes ou'throw, *vjd.*

1565. Paid for ij prayer bookes ag't the Turke, *iiij*d*.*

1568-9. Paide for iij books for prayers ag't the plague ye 3d Septēber, *xvj*d*.*

1569. Paid for a prayer for the quenes maiestie the xiiij day of Januarye 1569, *vjd.*

1574. P'd for mēdinge the Parraphrase & a cheyne for yt, *ijs.*

1576. It'm for one staple for the Parraphrases.

It'm paide for a booke of Mr. Nowells Catechisme, *xvj*d*.*

1580. Item for iij bookes used in the churche after the earthquake, *xvj*d*.*

1584. Payde the x daie of Aprill for one pap. booke for to keepe the names of the Cōmunicāts, *viiij*d*.*

1587. Payde for ij Bokes wrytinge of the names from xvj to 60 yerres of ages in the p'ish, *ijs.*

1589. Item for a proclamacōn concerninge waights to be sette in the churche, *vjd.*

1590. Item payde for a prynted order from ye B^p of london for not receavinge of unlicenced mynisters, *ijd.*

Item paid for a prayer booke appointed to be used for the ffrēche Kinge, *jd.*

1590. Item paide for another prayer-booke appointed to be used for the ffrēche Kinge accordinge to the forme vsed in her Ma^ts chappell, *ijd.*

This last entry was evidently considered to be of some importance, for attention is specially directed to it by a hand, with the index finger extended, drawn in the margin.

1593. P'd for a Comunion booke, viijs. vjd.

for viij prayer bookes for the p'ishe w^t weare used to be sayde in the tyme of the plage, xijd.

1597. Payd for a prayer booke for the Navye, 0. 0. 3.

1599. for wrytinge all the christenings maryages and buryalls in to the booke, xxxijs. iiijd.

1600. Item paid by consent of the p'ish unto the minister for a bible, xxxs.

1633. [In a brief inventory]

Itt' one booke of Bishop Jewells.

„ one booke Survey of london.

XXIV. I shall conclude with a few extracts illustrative of the price of goods and of labour.

1447. It' payed to the Glasyer for makynge of ij ymagies heds, xijd.

It' paide for Est' q're to the Raker iiijd.

It' paide the x day of ffev'er at Westmynst' for serchyng of a booke and for bote hyre thidyr and home ayen, vijd.

1527. It'm payd to the dawber and his laborer v dayes, vs.

1534. It'm p'd for a quarter of Coles, vjd.

It'm p'd for xxxij ells of lynnne clothe for surplusses at viijd the ell, xxjs. iiijd.

It'm for makynge ij ruffed surplusses, ijs.

It'm for makynge iiij playne surplusses, viijd.

1555. It'm for iiij lode of lyme at xd. ob. the lode, ijs. vijd. ob.

It'm for ij lode of sande at xijd. the lode, ijs.

It'm payde for vij^e of bryk, vijs.

It'm to Mr. Sympson for ij dayes worke for settinge upp the aulters, xxjd.

It'm to his laborer for ij dayes, xvjd.

It'm to Mr. Sympsons boye for one daye labor, vjd.

1560. Item paid for vj gallons & a quart of maulmesey, xs. iiijd.

1567. Paid to ij carpenters for seven dayes woorke th'one had xvjd. th'other had xijd. a daye, xvjs. iiijd.

Payd for seven c of sixpenny nayles, ijs. xjd.

Payd for iiij c of duble & penny nayles, iijs.

1570. Paide to a carpenter for a dayes woorke in the three chambers, xvjd.

1573. Paide for iiij yardes & a halfe of brode clothe to make the Clarke a gowne, xxxijs. iiijd.

Paide for ij coffyns, vjs. viijd.

1574. P'd for bote hier iiij tymes to lambeth toe and ffro, ijs. ijd.

1576. Item for lxij quarrells at a penny the pece, vs. ijd.

1589. Item paid to ij plasterers for viij daies woorke at xvjd. p' daie a pece, xxjs. iiijd.

Item to a laborer for like tyme, vjs. viijd.

Item to a bricklaier for one daies woorke, xvjd.

Item to his laborer for like tyme, xd.

EXTRACT FROM THE WILL OF A LUDLOW TRADESMAN.

COMMUNICATED BY CLARENCE HOPPER, ESQ.,
PALEOGRAPHER.

AMONG the wills in the Court of Probate (London) is that of a mercer of Ludlow, one William Langford, who appears to have been a thriving and substantial tradesman, if we may judge from the great amount of plate which he left behind him to be divided amongst his children and grandchildren. The will bears date 24 June 1551, and was proved 2 March, 1553-4. The following is the inventory of the articles bequeathed.

One nut of silver with a cover gilt.

One cup for ale of silver pounsed with a cover gilt.

One large standing cup with a cover gilt and an image of St. John upon the cover.

One goblet with a cover of silver graven and gilt.

One standing cup with a cover of silver pounsed with vines and parcel gilt.

One large bowl of silver and parcel gilt having in the midst an image of January enameled.

A large salt with a cover pounsed and rased with bars and knots in the middle all gilt having as it were a white rose on the top of the cover.

13 spoons of silver with the apostles at the ends whereof 6 are hatted and six bareheaded.

One ale cup with a cover of silver and parcel gilt.

A less standing cup with a cover of silver pounsed all gilt having on the top of the cover a closed crown.

One spice plate of silver pounsed and gilt with a griffin in the midst within.

One great bowl of silver parcel gilt having the image of July in the midst enameled.

One goblet of silver and gilt.

A small flat piece of silver with a star in the midst and the boss void.

A goblet of silver without a cover parcel gilt.

One salt sellar without a cover pounsed and rased with bars and a knot in the midst well and thoroughly gilt.

One dozen of spoons with wreathed knops with these letters r.c. graven on the backside of every of them.

One cup for ale of silver without a cover parcel gilt.

One cup of silver parcel gilt with a round top over the corner wreathed.

A great bowl of silver parcel gilt having in the midst an image of May enameled.



One less bowl of silver containing within the boss two letters joined of JL.

One small standing cup pounsed with a cover of silver having a round knop on the top double cheynered and also a branch on the boss.

One goblet with a cover parcel gilt having these letters WL in the top of the cover enameled.

One goblet of a less sort without a cover.

One large salt with a cover of silver parcel gilt with a corner of the top gilt.

12 spoons with wreathed knopps of silver without letters or markes.

One small bowl of silver containing in the boss which is gilt these two letters J.B knit together.

One small salt of silver with a cover quartered every second quarter gilt.

Eleven spoons of silver with cut ends.

Proceedings of the Association.

27TH MAY, 1867.

H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A. *Scot.*, V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election was announced of the following member, Alfred Wallis, Esq., Friar's Gate, Derby.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

- To the Society.* Kilkenny and South of Ireland Archæological Society, for Proceedings, Vol. v, No. 52, new series. 8vo, 1867.
- „ „ Cambrian Arch. Soc., for Archæologia Cambrensis, No. 54, 3rd series. 8vo, 1868.
- „ „ Royal Archæological Institute, for Archæological Journal, No. 95. 8vo, 1867.
- „ „ Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, for Proceedings, Vol. vi, Part 2. 4to, 1867.
- To Edward Roberts, Esq., F.S.A., Hon. Sec.,* for Historical Sketch of Henry VIII, as affecting the Reformation, by Charles Hastings Collette, Esq. 8vo, 1868.

Mr. H. Watling transmitted for exhibition a fac-simile of one of the figures painted on the screen of Southwold Church, Suffolk. The effigy in question is that of St. Bartholomew. The golden nimbus is decorated with a pattern in black outline. The cope or mantle is of a rich red colour, lined with green, with a robe closed in front with a rhombic-shaped morse, both of gold. The long under vest is of a deep crimson hue, wrought all over with golden lions and flowers. The right hand holds a broad-bladed, thick-backed, pointed knife, on which appears to be stamped a small Greek cross within a crescent. The left hand supports the open Gospel of St. Matthew. The bare feet of the Apostle stand on a pavement of red, green, and buff tessellæ; and the back-ground of the picture is of embossed gold. As a work of art, Mr. Watling's drawing may be pronounced exquisite. Faithful both in colour and contour, it seems like a panel cut from the original screen of the fifteenth century.

The Rev. W. Sparrow Simpson, V.P., exhibited three drawings kindly presented to him by Mr. Watling, representing effigies painted on screens in Suffolk churches: one is St. James the Great, at Southwold; another, St. Mary Magdalene, with the pot of ointment, at Yaxley; and the third is Moses holding the tables of the law, at Westhall.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., exhibited a drawing of the effigy of St. John the Evangelist on the screen of Southwold Church, presented to him by Mr. Watling.

Mr. J. B. Greenshields, F.S.A.S., sent for exhibition a leaden bull of Nicholas V (Thomas de Sarzana), who filled the papal chair from 1447 to 1455. On the obverse is the Pontiff's name—NICOLAVS . P . P . V. On the reverse are the heads of St. Paul and St. Peter, with the letters S . PA.—S . PE, above them. This fine example was found long since in the immediate vicinity of the Cathedral of Glasgow. Nicholas V constituted the University of Glasgow by bull dated 7th January, 1450; and Mr. Greenshields remarks in a note that he sees by the preface to the *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis* (xlvi), that "the general jubilee proclaimed in 1450 on the termination of the great Papal schism was extended to Scotland, and penitential visits and offerings at the Cathedral of Glasgow declared equally meritorious with those at Rome; the offerings on the occasion being distributed one-third to the fabric of the church of Glasgow; one-third to other pious uses in Scotland; and one-third to Rome". It is a fair presumption that the leaden seal in question found its way to Scotland in the year 1450.

In the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland (iv, 296), is a record of the discovery at the chapel of the Abbey of Lindore, Fifeshire, of a bull of Pope Nicholas IV (1288-92), reading NICOLINO . PP . IIII. In this *Journal* (ii, 97) is an engraving of a pair of pincers-shaped dies for forging bulls of Pope Pius II (1458-1464).

The Rev. J. G. Cuming exhibited a cast from the head of the beadle staff of the parish of Bethnal Green. It bears a figure representing the "Beggar of Bethnal Green", much resembling an engraving by Callot.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a gag and a dental instrument of the sixteenth century, and said that the French gag produced by Mr. Holt may possibly have also been employed as a thumbkin, for it differs much in principle and construction from the ordinary type of gags met with in collections. It simply distended the jaws, whereas the instrument for gagging was usually provided with a gad or spike to place within the mouth to prevent its closing, or a spine to rise beneath the chin to stay its opening. Mr. Holt's instrument brought to mind the *Speculum Oris* of former days, wherewith the surgeon screwed open the mouth of his patient for the purpose of examining the throat or for the administration of medicine or nutriment; and which was also employed by the

dentist in his craft. Mr. Cuming exhibited a *Speculum Oris* of the seventeenth century, of wrought steel, and looking when shut up some what like a short-bladed cross-hilted dagger. The "expanders" have each three notches to catch the teeth, and are hinged to a bar through which passes a screw for forcing them open, and which has a trefoil handle of rather larger size than that which terminates the screw in the French gag.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited the head of a pastoral staff in brass found in Smithfield. It was perhaps of the twelfth, certainly not later than the thirteenth century, and might have been connected with St. Bartholomew's.

Mr. H. T. Humphreys exhibited an African Fetish necklace, supposed to be a charm against poison, brought by Captain James Tuckey, R.N., from the river Zaire, in 1861, and figured in his narrative of the expedition. It consists of a string of the *Dolichos* beans, alternated with the seed of some other plant, and is adorned with two goats' hoofs, each of which was originally filled with a black cement ornamented with shells. It bears also an European padlock apparently of the sixteenth century. This was also covered with cement, in which were fixed shells of the *Cyprea Moneta*. Most of this cement has fallen off, as has that from one of the hoofs.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming exhibited a *Fetish* from Western Africa, nearly ten inches in length, stated to be formed of a portion of a lion's tail, the tuft of black hair being left exposed, whilst the upper part is sewed up in white cotton cloth bound round with a cord of white, red, and blue cotton. It depends from a loop of white cotton cord sixteen inches in length.

Thomas Lambert Hall, Esq., of Cleobury Mortimer, exhibited a deed of admission to a manor of the time of Elizabeth, and endorsed in 1616, with a surrender. It bore marks, which Mr. E. Roberts observed were similar to masons' marks, and resembled three kinds of X; an M; an N; a reversed mediæval M; and a double vertical line crossed by the lower half of a letter K.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills exhibited a rubbing of an inscription in curious looking letters, on a dish stated to him to be an offertory dish. He had, however, ascertained that this was not the case. The dishes in question are very numerous, and several had been in the Malines Exhibition. They were probably used as wash-hand basins, as many of them have a cavity in the middle for the purpose of holding an ewer. They may have been used for some sort of laustral ceremony which took place in many country churches on Holy Thursday. At any rate, they were not used for offertory purposes, as many of them which have not the cavity mentioned, are ornamented with secular subjects. There has been much dispute as to the reading of the inscrip-

tion; but, according to the best authorities, it seems to be M. Luther, the maker of these dishes.

Mr. Richard Jones, of Ludlow, exhibited the money-box of the Ancient Company of the Stitchmen of Ludlow. It was accompanied by the account and minute book of the company. Mr. Hills, by whom these articles were exhibited on behalf of Mr. Jones, stated that the entries were from 1669 to 1862. The box will be engraved, and Mr. Hills promised to give at some future time an analysis of the contents of the book.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited some Roman ear-rings and other ornaments; and read the following

REMARKS UPON EAR-RINGS AND SOME ROMAN PERSONAL ORNAMENTS OF THE
THIRD CENTURY, FOUND AT ARLES IN DECEMBER 1866.

Although many attempts have been made by archæologists to unravel the origin of the ear-ring, the question still remains involved in obscurity.

Early as the period is at which it is first introduced to our notice, the event in connexion with which mention is made of it shews that its use must have been known for many centuries previously, and its attractive qualities well ascertained, and commonly recognised.

Apart from its ornamental aspect, the ear-ring has played an important part in many momentous historical events, which will always preserve their interest and importance. Thus, it has in turn been made a testimony of respect; an offering of idolatrous devotion; a token of gratitude and true piety; and a temptation to evil; the gift of pure love, and the reward of corruption.

The earliest mention of an ear-ring with which we are acquainted is at a date 1857 years B.C., upon the occasion of Abraham sending his servant to seek a wife for Isaac at the city of Nahor in Mesopotamia, where he meets Rebekah at the well of water, without the city, and there, under the circumstances described in the 24th Chapter of Genesis, presented her with a pair of ear-rings of half a shekel weight each, and put them in her ears.

It may here be proper to mention that, in the English translation of the Bible (Gen. xxiv, 22), the servant is declared to have taken "*a golden ear-ring of half a shekel weight*";¹ and, in verse 47, he is made to say—"I put *the* ear-ring on her face"; whereas, the Latin version clearly mentions ear-rings,² and that "*they*" were placed on her face.

Without attempting to reconcile the discrepancy in the translations, it will be readily conceded, that as the word used is *inaures*, it was evi-

¹ Rendered in the Vulgate, "*Protulit vir in aures aureas, appendentes siclos duos, et armillas totidem pondo siclorum decem.*"

² "*Suspendi itaque in aures ad ornandam faciem ejus.*"

dently something for the ear, it is far more probable and consistent that the servant should have presented Rebekah with a *pair* of ear-rings, rather than with *one*.

In this instance, however, we have a direct proof that the gift of the ear-ring was intended as the symbol of betrothal, from which it may be reasonably inferred that the servant was merely following out a well-acknowledged custom.

Our next acquaintance with the ear-ring is 125 years later, in connexion with Jacob, who, being sent by God to Bethel (b.c. 1732), built an altar there, and the Hebrew women gave him¹ "all their ear-rings, which were in their ears", and which "Jacob hid under the oak which was by Shechem".

Although we are without positive information as to the precise form of the ear-ring in the time of Rebekah, it may fairly be imagined that fashion at that period was somewhat less capricious than it is in the nineteenth century, and that the ingenuity of man was not then so much taxed for novelty of idea as in the present day. Hence, it is a fair deduction, that from the period of Rebekah's adornment until Moses lived, the style of ear-ring continued much the same; and, if that be so, then, from the discoveries in the eighteenth century, which have brought to light several specimens belonging to the feminine toilet used in the reign of Osirtesen I and Thothmes III (who were contemporaries of Joseph and of Moses), we find that the ear-rings commonly worn by the Egyptian ladies were large, round, single hoops of gold from $1\frac{1}{2}$ to $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, and frequently of still greater size, or were made of six rings soldered together. Sometimes, indeed, the form was that of "an asp", whose body was of gold set with precious stones. They, however, were only worn by persons of rank as a fashionable caprice, and in all probability this emblem of majesty was usually limited to members of the royal family.

In the collection of Egyptian antiquities at the British Museum may be found a painting divided into two compartments, consisting entirely of female figures, nearly all of whom wear large ear-rings of this period.

As a natural consequence of unrestrained vanity religious feeling gradually became weakened, then destroyed, and afterwards replaced for a time by that wild idolatrous fanaticism which led to the open rebellion of the Israelites against the Almighty Power. Hence, the command of Aaron to the Israelitish people b.c. 1491:—"Break off the golden ear-rings which are in the ears of your wives, of your sons, and of your daughters, and bring them unto me" (Exodus, chap. 32, v. 2). And all the people broke off the ear-rings which were in their ears, and brought them unto Aaron, who from them produced the well-known "molten calf", which Moses on his return at once destroyed.

¹ Genesis, xxxv, 4.

In contrast to such idolatry we find that upon an offering being required for the Tabernacle, the Israelites "came both men and women as many as were willing hearted, and brought bracelets, ear-rings, and rings and tablets" (Exodus, chap. 35, v. 22). And when, subsequently, an "atonement for sin" was ordered, the leaders of the people said:—"We have therefore brought an oblation from the Lord—what every man hath gotten—giving jewels of gold, chains and bracelets, rings, ear-rings and tablets, to make an atonement for our souls before the Lord" (Numbers, chap. 31, v. 50).

No better proof of the extent to which the Hebrews indulged in the luxury of ear-rings can be desired, than that which is afforded upon the occasion of Gideon obtaining his celebrated victory over Zebah and Zalmunna, the Kings of Midian, when having as reward for his valour and courage been invited by the Israelites to reign over them: "Give me every man the ear-rings of his prey (for they had golden ear-rings, because they were Ishmaelites). And they spread a garment and did cast therein every man the ear-rings of his prey; and the weight of the golden ear-rings that he requested was a thousand and seven hundred shekels of gold;" from which Gideon made an Ephod, and "put it in his city, even in Ophrah" (Judges, chap. 8, vv. 24-27).

The progress made in the taste and elegance of ear-rings between the time of Rebekah and the reign of Alexander the Great, is well indicated by those found a few years since on opening some tumuli at Kertch; on which occasion, in the tomb of the wife of King Eumelus (*ob.* B.C. 344) were discovered "two golden ear-rings with small cupids, ornamented with precious stones".¹

From this period until the fall of Jerusalem [A.D. 70] in the time of Josephus, the same fondness for ear-rings exhibited itself among the Hebrew women, whose personal ornaments formed no inconsiderable portion of the plunder which fell to the lot of the soldiers of Titus.

In like manner ear-rings have been commonly worn by men in the remotest ages, and notably by the Lydians, the Persians, the Babylonians, the Lybians, and the Carthaginians;² although among the Greeks and Romans they were only worn by females. The earliest instance of that custom I have been enabled to find occurs in the three "Atlantes" which support one of these antique and rare copper vessels known as "Hundred-ringed Vases," produced in China 1000 years B.C., one of which I have in my own collection, wherein the ear-rings may be distinctly observed in the form of a plain ring of copper.

Notwithstanding the almost universal custom of the Romans of con-

¹ See *Archæological Journal*, vol. xiii.

² Xen., *Anab.*, iii, l. § 31; Diod. Sic., v, 45; Juv., i, 104; Macrobi., *Sat.* vii, 1; Plaut., *Poen.*, v, 2, 21.

fining the use of ear-rings to their women, Dion¹ relates of the Emperor Macrinus that he had his ears pierced, and wore ear-rings after the fashion of the Moors.

In England it was a common custom in the early part of the seventeenth century for men to wear ear-rings. An instance of this fashion may be seen on reference to Holland's *Heroologia*, p. 134, wherein John Harrington, Baron of Exton, appears with earrings.

In France they formed a common appendage to the costume of "court fools," and an entry exists in the *Comptes Royaux*, 1452, that the then Dauphin of France paid nine livres for a pair of ear-rings to be placed in the ears of his fool one "Mitton."

With the Egyptians the use of ear-rings was not, however, confined to humanity. Thus we learn from *Herodotus* (ii, 69) that in the country above the Lake Moëris the people had a profound respect for the crocodile, it being an ordinary custom to have a tame or pet crocodile, whose ungainly form was adorned with pendants of glass, or gold in its ears, and bracelets about its forefeet; and in that statement Herodotus is fully confirmed by Mons. G. St. Hilaire, one of the best authorities in modern days on Egyptian History.

With the ancients it was a custom to attribute the seats of various virtues to different parts of the human body, and to the ear they assigned "memory." It was usual with them, as a formulary, to touch the ear of one to avert any expected misfortune, or to recall a fact to his or her memory. It was for this that they touched the tip of the ear of those who were called to bear witness. It was, moreover, a mark of tenderness from children to their parents, and lovers to their mistresses, to kiss and touch their ears. This circumstance may, to some extent, account for the great care and attention bestowed on piercing the ears of children at an early age, so that they might not be injured or their beauty lessened. The aperture was made then (as now) in the lobe of the ear and was styled the "Fenestra."²

The "inaures," or ear-rings of the Roman ladies consisted of the ring, or hook, and the drop. They constituted at all times a very important feature of their toilette, and in wealthy families they were especially entrusted to the care of a female slave called the "Anricule Ornatrice," whose especial duty it was to place them in the ears of her mistress.

The different forms given to ear-rings had their distinctive names. Thus (*inter alia*) may be mentioned the *crotalium*, or "rattle" (several specimens of which were found in Pompeii), so styled when the pendants (*clenchi*) were made of two or more pearls in the form of pears,

¹ *Dion* was a native of Bithynia, who held high offices in the state, under Pertinax and his three successors, and is principally known by his *History of Rome*, which originally consisted of eighty books.

² *Juvenal, Sat.* i, l. 104.

and were sufficiently large to produce a noise, or sharp crackling sound, when they were struck together by the movement of the wearer.¹ Others were called *stalagmia*, i.e., ear-rings formed of pearls or minute balls of gold arranged so as to imitate drops of water.² One of these ornaments may be seen in the British Museum.

It would also appear that, independently of the beauty of form, the ear-ring must be of a certain weight. Thus, the well-known Roman comic writer, Plautus (*ob. circa* B.C. 148), makes the maid servant from the house of Erotium say—"My dear Menæchmus, do, pray give me some ear-rings, the pendants to be made two didrachms in weight;"³ from which a comparison may readily be made between the weight of the ear-rings worn by Rebekah, and those in fashion in the time of Plautus. Discoveries at Thebes have also brought to light ear-rings of varied forms, but as their date cannot be decided with any degree of certainty, it is very difficult to determine whether they are of an ancient Egyptian age or of Greek introduction. Of these the most remarkable are a dragon, and another of fancy-shape, which is not inelegant. Some few were of silver with plain hoops like those of gold already noticed, but less massive, being of the thickness of an ordinary ring. At one end was a small opening, into which the curved extremity of the other caught after it had been passed through the ear. Others were worn in the form of simple studs.

The use of the ear-ring was, indeed, so generally in fashion in every age, and with almost every nation, that goddesses, ladies, children, and slaves were all adorned with them, the materials used for such purposes usually consisting either of gold, yellow amber, glass, coral, carnelian, or precious stones. It was, moreover, a fashion in which the most astonishing extravagance was displayed, and indulged in by the upper classes of the Roman and Greek ladies. An instance of the great value of some of these pendants is recorded by Suetonius in the seventh chapter of his *Life of Vitellius*, wherein he mentions that Galba (afterwards emperor), being despatched to Lower Germany, and being in want of funds to defray his expenses, borrowed as much money on a single pendant to an ear-ring belonging to his mother Sextilia, as more than sufficed for his wants, which were very great.

Lampridius, who flourished in the fourth century, also reports that the Emperor Alexander Severus would not permit his wife, Sallustia Barbia Orbiana, to wear in her ears two pearls which had been presented to her by a foreign ambassador, giving as the reason for his objection, that his wife should not set so bad an example to Roman ladies as to wear as an ornament to one of the smallest portions of the body, things esteemed so precious and priceless; and he carried his principle

¹ Petr., Sat. 67, 9; Plin., *H. N.*, ix, 56.

² From the Greek *στάλαγμα*.

³ *Menæchmi*, Act iii, Sc. 3.

into practice by consecrating the pearls in question to the Goddess Venus, thereby following the example of Octavius Caesar, who, when after the death of Cleopatra, he had come into possession of a beautiful pearl of inestimable price (which was only saved from the fate of its fellow pendant by the interposition of Plancus, who declared that Cleopatra had won her well-known wager with Anthony), caused it to be cut asunder, and directed two pendants to be made of it, for the statue of Venus. By these unfortunate dedications all traces of those once celebrated pearls have, as a matter of course, long since been utterly lost.

The emperors, however, who succeeded Alexander Severus made no attempt to repress this great and useless expense of women, for St. Jerome, in his letters to Demetrias, states that the Roman ladies wore pendants to their ears of so great a price that they even expended their whole patrimony on them.¹

Bearing in mind the almost universal prevalence of wearing ear-rings, it is surprising that, as a general rule, the busts and medals of the Roman Empresses, ladies, and matrons, do not appear with them. Winkelman, however, cites several well-known exceptions to that rule, such as Antonia, the wife of Drusus, the bust of an aged female in the gallery of the Capitol, and a "Matidia," the niece of the Emperor Trajan, in the Villa Ludovici, all of which have their ears pierced. The Venus de Medici and other female statues have the ears pierced, and probably once had ear-rings in them. The statue of Achilles at Sigæum representing him in female attire, likewise had this ornament. Several statues have also been found at Herculaneum, in which the marble has been pierced for the purpose of introducing real ear-rings, and an orifice left in the eyes to receive artificial pupils.

Upon the present occasion I have the pleasure of submitting to your notice a case containing a small ivory box, five earrings, and two copper coins of "Claudius Caesar," all discovered in a coffin at Arles, in the department of the Bouches du Rhone, France, in December, 1866, and and trifling as they are, I yet venture to express my belief that few more interesting specimens of the personal ornaments of a Roman lady in the third century have come to light for some time past.

The interest of the discovery does not, however, cease with the ear-rings, inasmuch as the ivory box fairly claims its share of attention as well as the two coins specially devoted to Charon's fee for ferrying the soul of the deceased lady across the Styx.

The ear-rings consist of a pair in gold, a second pair of some rough

¹ "Ut taceam de inaurium pretiis, candore margaritarum Rubri maris profunda testantium, smaragdorum virore, cerauniorum flammis, hyacinthorum pelago, ad quæ ardent et insaniant studia matronarum." And again, "hæc est illis per singulos dies cura præcipua, implicare auro crinem, suspendere ex auribus patrimonia."

precious stone, and one of carnelian (I having unfortunately lost the other), all being elegantly strung on very slender twisted gold wire.

The gold ear-rings are of a form I have not hitherto met with, and appear to have been made in a mould or struck on a die. They represent "bucklers or shields," in the form of an elongated lozenge, rounded off at the extremities, each having on its exterior a centre ornament with a border of circular bosses on the outer margin, arranged with regularity.

Bucklers similar in form to these ear-rings are to be found upon the triumphal arch at Orange in the department of the Vaucluse in France, which was erected by Marcus Aurelius in celebration of his victories in Germany, and is justly acknowledged to be one of the finest Roman monuments of the third century in existence.

The other ear-rings are simple of their kind, but uncommon, and worthy of notice for their form, the materials of which they are composed, and the neat workmanship of the gold rings to which they are attached.

The custom of depositing the personal ornaments of deceased persons in their graves was, as is well-known, more rare with the Romans than with the early Britons, and, therefore, adds a further interest to the objects now under consideration.

The date assigned to the objects before us, viz., the latter part of the third century, may be appropriately arrived at by the two coins found in the coffin, both of which bear the effigy of the Emperor Claudius II, who reigned from A.D. 268 to 270.

It is a well recorded fact that the ancients were in the habit of placing a piece of money, called by the Greeks an *obolus*, in the mouth of the deceased, with the object of enabling the departed one to pay Charon's fee for a passage in his boat. This practice is also mentioned by Stowe, who, in his *London*, 1576, on referring to the burial places of the Romans in London, states that each urn found contained with the ashes of the dead *one* piece of copper money, some of which were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Antoninus Pius, and of Trajan.

As time progressed the donation to the old ferryman for the transit seems, from some cause or other, to have been increased, as the *oboli* were multiplied to two or three. In mentioning this as Charon's fee, I limit it to that offered by the Greeks and Romans, inasmuch as the Egyptians, with more generosity or folly, as the case may be, indulged in the habit of placing pieces of gold coin in the mouths of their mummies, and so generally was that practice followed as to induce the finders of those relics of mortality in after ages almost invariably to direct their attention, first to the mouth as the well-known place of deposit, and, having secured the coin, they left the rest to science.

The notion of propitiating Charon was not, however, so absurd, as in

the present day might be considered. At the period when the custom was prevalent it must be remembered that the popular feeling was exceedingly superstitious. To the imagination of the ancients, Charon was a most important personage to conciliate. Virgil has described him as a "grim old fellow with a white beard, very ill-favoured, and slovenly, and with eyes that seem to dart fire." Add to this, that he was invested with a fearful power as the "Ferryman of Hell," and as having a monopoly for conveying souls over the infernal rivers of Acheron, Styx, and Cocytus. He was also believed to be inexorable in exacting from everyone alike his "naulus", or fare (for so the money for the transit was called); so that the desire for bribing the grim tyrant and thus making sure of not being left behind, was doubtless a sufficient inducement for the survivors to provide the deceased with that increase of price to which I have already referred.

Well, however, as the practice is known to have existed, it is but very seldom indeed that the coins especially devoted for the payment have been so perfectly identified with the object of their application as in the present instance, and from this circumstance they have acquired an interest which would not otherwise attach to them.

The ivory box alone remains for notice, and it will suffice to mention that it is of the class described by the Romans as "arculæ," and that it is of a form well-known to archæologists.

I will merely add that the contents of the case were found at Arles in December 1866, in dredging the bed of the river Rhone to prepare the foundation for the pier of the intended railway bridge then in course of construction, and the coffin was then discovered, which contained the relics now produced.

It was suggested that the pair of ear-rings were of an Etruscan type, and Mr. Roberts observed that the Romans not only made ornaments after Etruscan patterns, but rifled the Etruscan graves of the jewellery they contained; so that these might be ancient Roman copies of Etruscan originals.

Mr. H. T. Humphreys remarked, that Mr. Holt's idea that ear-rings were given to Rebekah by Abraham's steward, had somewhat taken him by surprise. He had always been of opinion that the ornament spoken of being in the singular number was a nose-jewel, a trinket worn in the East from time immemorial down to this day. In Genesis xxiv, 22 and 47, the word is נֶזֶם, *Nezem*, which is given by Gesenius with reference to the latter verse, as "a ring worn on the nose as an ornament", and as "an ear-ring", with reference to Gen. xxxv, 4. In this latter passage the word is *Nezamin*, being in the plural number. In chap. xxiv, 47, the steward says, "And I put the *nezem al appah*", which Dr. Kalisch translates, "And I put the nose-ring in



her nose". He translates the passage in verse 22 thus: "a golden ear-ring a beka in weight, and two bracelets for her hands"; and in his philological notes upon this passage, he says, "נֶסֶךְ (v. 22) is here neither an *ear-ring*, as in xxxv, 4, for the servant put it on the *nose* (ver. 47), nor an ornament for the forehead, which, generally consisting of a hook or other small object, never reaches down to the nose."

"The Septuagint gives ἐνώτια, in the plural, and in the 47th verse leaves the Hebrew word 'appah' untranslated. A Latin version, in my possession, gives 'monile aureum' and 'duas armillas', in the 22nd verse, and in the 47th 'imposui monile illud naso ejus'; and these renderings I also find in an Italian version, v. 22, 'un monile d'oro, di peso d'un mezzo siclo, e gliel mise di sopra al naso'. The latter words being apparently a gloss inserted in italics; and v. 47, 'Io le posi quel monile di sopra al naso'. Every version agrees with the Hebrew and our own authorised version in specially inserting the numeral two before 'bracelets', as if in contradistinction to the single *nose jewel*, while there can be no doubt that the word is afterwards applied in the plural to the 'ear-rings which were in their ears', and that in several other passages it occurs where the context affords no clue to explain whether it mean ear-ring or nose-ring." Mr. Humphreys also thought in this case that the special use of the numeral *two* with respect to the bracelets, the fact that the word *ring* is in the singular number and the jewel being said to be placed in the *nose* in the original and in so many translations, will enable us to decide with the aid of such authorities as Gesenius and Dr. Kalisch, that the signification of the word in Genesis xxiv is "Nose-ring".

Mr. George Vere Irving read the following paper on the

DEATH OF THE RED COMYN.

Mr. Cuming's allusion to this event in the last number of the *Journal*, p. 35, has led me to investigate the matter more fully than I had previously done. The result has been to convince me, first, that there was more of premeditation and preparation on the part of the Bruce than has generally been supposed, which is quite consistent with the mixture of chivalric courage and cautious prudence which so eminently characterised his whole career; and, secondly, that the death of the Comyn so far from forming a part of his plans had the effect of partially disarranging them. There can be no doubt that, in anticipation of their meeting, arrangements were made to secure the personal safety of the Bruce, and most wisely so; for he was in great danger; but it is evident that they were equally necessary for the security of the Comyn, who was in equal jeopardy.

I at once admit that what Mr. Cuming calls "*the opportune presence*" of James de Lindsay and Kilpatrick of Closeburn, at Dumfries, was one

branch of these arrangements and a most important one for the safety of all concerned.

We must recollect that at this period all the royal castles of Scotland were occupied by English garrisons of great strength ; so strong indeed, that the one at Perth was able, a few months later, by a sortie, to defeat and disperse the whole force under the Bruce's personal command. I will now advert to the following facts :—

1st. Bruce made his escape from London and hurried, in perfect good faith, to meet the Comyn at Dumfries, almost, if not totally, unattended. 2ndly. The moment he crossed the Sark he was in the midst either of his own Annandale vassals or of those of minor families like my own, on whose fidelity he could depend. Did he pause for a moment to collect their force, which would have placed the Comyn and his personal retinue at his mercy ? On the contrary, he pushed on to Dumfries without any attempt to do so. 3rdly. From Dumfries, however, the roads into the interior of Scotland were beset with most serious danger to both Bruce and Comyn, when the escape of the first from London and his meeting with the second became known to the commanders of the English garrisons. Nor could it be hoped that things should be kept so secret (especially the journey of the Comyn to Dumfries, a town with which he had no connexion) as not to excite their suspicions. It was therefore necessary to provide against any movement on their part.

From Dumfries, Bruce would naturally have taken the line of the Upper Nith, to place himself in communication with his vassals in Carrick ; but this was barred by the English garrison at Sanquhar, which also threatened the pass of the Well Path, which would have been convenient for both himself and Comyn. Now, the Knight of Closeburn and his retainers secured the Lower Nith, while De Lindesay held the southern portion of the upper-ward of Lanarkshire, and thus they covered the whole of this most eligible route. Hence their presence at Dumfries. I shall afterwards show that the Bruce had made provision to secure another line in case of accidents, which was the one he eventually followed.

To return to Dumfries. Let us look at the events which occurred there. The Bruce met the Comyn. The latter had the opportunity of being attended by a full feudal escort ; the former was a fugitive who had made no attempt to bring up his retainers. He meets the Comyn in the church of the Grey Friars, and stabs him there. If this assassination was premeditated, why should that deed have been done in *Holy Girth*, which plagued the Bruce to the end of his life ? Why not have struck the Comyn in the common street ? Kilpatrick and Lindesay were equally in attendance. Why risk the censure of the Pope ?

The answer is, that Bruce trusted to the last in the good faith of the

Comyn. That in his flight from England he met a retainer of the latter whose despatches he seized, and among them found a letter to King Edward betraying the whole patriotic plot, and advising that Bruce should be made a close prisoner before he could escape.

Like a loyal Scot, Bruce refused to believe in this duplicity until he had given Comyn a full opportunity of explaining the matter, and therefore met him in the church. No one was present at their interview, and no one can say what occurred there; but, if one may judge from the expressions of the survivor, he was provoked by some unsatisfactory explanation to strike a hasty blow. The exclamation of the Bruce as he rushed out, "I am afraid I have killed the Comyn", puts an end at once to any idea of premeditation on his part. Neither could there have been anything of the kind in the minds of Kilpatrick or Lindesay; for this reason, that if they had foreseen a brawl in the church they would have found their way inside long before they did. No doubt Bruce had communicated to them his suspicions of the treachery of the Comyn, which necessarily would furnish an anxious subject of conversation to them when waiting outside. The instant they heard the exclamation which confirmed their worst conjectures their hesitation was at an end. Their lives were at the mercy of a traitor, if he recovered, and so they made *sicker*. This unfortunate brawl disarranged, as I have already hinted, the plans of the Bruce; but he had prepared for contingencies, and immediately retraced his steps to his strong castle of Lochmaben. There he spent a couple of days in organising and collecting his Annandale forces, and attended by them, proceeded on his march to the North, not by the Valley of the Nith, but by that of the Annan.

Now, there is no more important strategical point in the South of Scotland than that at the top of Errichstane Brae, where the Annan, the Clyde, and the Tweed, all rise from one hill side. There the Bruce meets a plump of spears commanded by a young man with whom he had no personal acquaintance, but on whose fidelity he could rely. Need I say that this was one who subsequently became his great lieutenant, known in Scotland to the present day as "the *good* Lord James of Douglas".

But the question arises, how came *he* to be there so opportunely, especially as the point of meeting was out of the Douglas district? I answer that he was there by previous arrangement, to secure this important centre of communication should it be determined that the Bruce was to use any of the roads commanded by it. The result of their meeting was, that the Bruce followed that of the old great Roman Iter which, in the memory of the last generation, was the mail road between Carlisle and Glasgow. This in a few miles placed him within the great barony of Crawford Lindesay, the representative of which we have al-

ready seen was with him at Dumfries. He must have passed my own ancestral house; but I rejoice to say that he could not have observed it, as a quaint English writer, of much more modern times, says that he could have carried it off on his back, and only refrained from doing so lest the poor laird should have no shelter from the weather. At any rate, the experiment was, thank Heaven, never tried.

Bruce probably passed the night at the well-known royal castle of Crawford, of which the Lindesays had then the charge. From thence he passed through a country which history tells us was that of his adherents:—1. That of his brother-in-law, Seton, at Lamington. 2. That of his well-known follower, Fleming of Biggar, where he was also joined by Sir Simon Fraser of Oliver Castle, in Tweeddale. 3. The Somervilles at Carnwath. 4. The Lockharts at Lee; and we must remember that it was Sir Simon Lockhart who many years afterwards brought back his heroic heart from Spain. 5. The lands possessed by the great family of De Moravia, then represented by his nephew Randolph, whose conflict with the Cliffords on the eve of Bannockburn is a household tradition. Thence to Glasgow, where he met not only his Carrick retainers, but Wishheart, the archbishop of that see, who accompanied him to Scone, and there placed the royal crown of Scotland on his brows.

Mr. S. Cuming said that he was not surprised that Mr. Vere Irving had endeavoured, although, as he thought, somewhat unsuccessfully, to defend the character of his ancestors. He maintained that, as both Bruce and Comyn had sworn allegiance to Edward I, Comyn was only doing his duty in divulging the plot to his sovereign. Bruce enticed Comyn into the church for the purpose of murdering him, where he could never have expected an attack.

The Rev. J. G. Cumming made some observations reconciling the two statements. He considered the best work on the subject was Mr. Taylor's book on *Edward I in Scotland*.

Mr. Holt remarked, that if there were really satisfactory evidence as to Bruce's expression "that he feared he had killed Comyn", it went some way to disprove any premeditation.

JUNE 10TH.

J. R. PLANCHÉ, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were returned for the following presents:

To the Society. To the Editing Committee of the Canadian Institute, for Canadian Journal of Industry, Science, and Art, No. 66, new series. 8vo, December 1867.

.. .. To the Council of the South Kensington Museum, for Report on the Architectural Museum for 1868. 8vo.

Mr. H. Watling sent further notes on the discoveries in progress at Stonham, Suffolk, with some fine illustrative drawings. At first, the general depth of excavation at Stonham was about 22 inches; but the soil being very black, and abounding in charcoal, it was determined to dig deeper, and at about 4 feet 6 inches below the surface earth the virgin gravel has been reached. There are now four distinct strata exposed to view—1st, Vegetable mould; 2nd, A bed of clay; 3rd, Dark soil in which the chief deposits of ancient remains occur; 4th, Another dark soil resting on the gravel, and containing various large bones, portions of gigantic antlers, flint implements of the earliest types, etc. Full-sized drawings, by Mr. Watling, of several of these implements were exhibited by the Rev. Sparrow Simpson, V.P.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., exhibited a group of pseudo-antique "Roman apple scoops", formed of the metatarsal bones of sheep, and professed to have been exhumed in Broad Street in 1866. These forgeries were made by James Smith of Bethnal Green, and Mr. Cuming took this opportunity of informing the collectors of London relics that this notorious drunken scamp died suddenly last April. He also laid before the meeting a drawing by Mr. Watling of the money-box of Blithborough Church, Suffolk. The back of this semi-hexagonal box was attached to the wall; and its front is recessed with three Gothic niches upon which distinct traces of green, yellow, and red paint remain. The flat lid of the box is screwed by two strong iron bars which drop over staples perforated for the reception of padlocks; and these bars are secured by a third passing across them, which was likewise fastened by a padlock. This curious piece of ecclesiastical furniture must be assigned to the fifteenth century, and is an interesting addition to the church money-boxes already described in this *Journal* (xxiii, 105).

The poor-boxes of Cawston and Loddon Churches, Norfolk, are given in Hone's *Table Book*, vol. i, p. 747, from the *Archeologia* of 1821. And in the *Gent. Mag.*, Nov. 1840, p. 465, is an engraving of a singular iron-bound poor-box forming part of a "finger pillory" in Ashby-de-la-Zouche Church, Leicestershire.

Mr. E. Roberts read a letter from the Rev. Dr. Wilson, canon of Winchester, communicating a find of Roman coins on a farm near Swindon. They were seventy-six in number, but were of little value, consisting of common types, such as Aurelian, Tetricus, Valens, and the Constantine family.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming reminded the meeting that when the casts of the silver reliefs set in the beadle's staff of Bethnal Green, were exhibited by the Rev. J. G. Cumming on May 27th, he stated that the figure of the blind beggar was evidently copied from one of the twenty-five effigies in Jacques Callot's *Capitain De Baroni*. Mr. Cuming now pro-

duced the engraving in question, representing a beggar in a broad-brimmed steeple hat, ragged cloak reaching to the knees, high loose boots, resting on a walking-stick, and holding a cylindrical money-box in his left hand. Callot's beggar has a dog in leash, *sejant*, whereas the one on the beadle's staff is standing, yet the whole conception is undoubtedly derived from the *Capitano De' Baroni*, though it is locally believed to represent Henry de Montfort, of whom the old ballad says—

“His markes and his tokens are knowen very well:
He always is led with a dog and a bell :
A seely olde man God knoweth is hee,
Yett hee is the father of prettye Bessee.”

Lord Boston, V.P., sent for exhibition an Eastern money-charm against cramp. It consists of three old Morocco coins of silver, each perforated with two holes and strung, one beneath the other, on a green cord. To the lowest and largest coin is attached a short chain, from which depends a somewhat cordiform ornament cut out of a thin plate of silver, and called in Egypt *burck*. The green cord possibly indicates that this charm belonged to a *shereef*, or descendant of the Prophet Mahomed, who is alone entitled to wear garments of this hue.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that money formed a potent charm in more ways than one, both in Europe and the East. The faith in bent coins or “lucky-money”, is not quite extinct among us; and as late as the close of the last century many persons believed that not merely convulsions but all kinds of fits were cured by wearing a ring on the finger formed of silver coin collected at the Communion service. In China one of the most powerful charms to keep ghosts and evil spirits out of the house is fashioned of a great number of little brass *teken*, laced on to an iron bar, and designated a *money-sword*. The cord of Moorish coins in the possession of the Lord Boston is probably as good a cramp-charm as the charact ring and garter, the patella and astragalus of the sheep, the bag of corks beneath the bed, or the scissiors behind the head, all of which were once held in high favour as antidotes to the disease. Should these several amulets fail, there were other remedies which might be tried, such as the old incantation—

“Cramp, be thou painless,
As our Lady was sinless
When she bare Jesus,
And quickly leave us.”

There is something almost grand in the following “bidding”—

“By the cross our Saviour bore,
By the garment which He wore,
By the blood and by the water
Flowing at His holy slaughter,
By the pang which wrung His heart,
Cramp, I bid thee now depart.”

Mr. Blashill exhibited the handle of an amphora found in the works now going on near St. Sepulchre's church, accompanied by an illustrative drawing.

Mr. Thomas Wright read a letter from the Rev. Hugh Roberts, vicar of Aberdaron, near Pwllheli, Carnarvonshire, calling attention to the ruinous state of his church. It is one of the most beautiful specimens of mediæval church architecture in Wales, and a description of it by Mr. Longueville Jones will be found in the *Archæologia*, No. 13, p. 27.

Dr. Kendrick, of Warrington, exhibited a seal of one of the Mortimer family, upon which the following observations were made by J. R. Planché, Esq., V.P.



"This seal possesses an heraldic feature, which is a rare, if not a unique, example in English seals. It is the seal of Isabella de Mortimer, "Domina de Homme Castel," and, according to Mr. Albert Way (who has seen it and favoured Dr. Kendrick with some observations upon it), "it was attached to a document formerly amongst the archives of the Jeffreys family of Ham Castle, a property now in the possession of Sir Thos. Winnington, Bart., of Stanford Court." It was a deed of confirmation, 13 Ed. II, to John de Beford, of a messuage purchased by Isabella from three daughters of Roger de Brompton. I can find only two Isabellas de Mortimer living at that period: one, the wife of a Guy Mortimer, whom I have not yet been able to affiliate; and the other the daughter of Robert de Mortimer, of Ricard's Castle, which Robert died 15 of Edward I. I have little doubt that I shall be able to show this latter Isabella was the owner of the seal from a fuller examination of the following facts. In the first place, the arms on the shield are the later arms borne by the branch of Ricard's Castle, viz., two bars, vair, and this shield is placed upon what I may call a field formed of the earlier coat of that line, viz., Barry of six pieces semée of fleurs-de-lys, counterchanged. Secondly, the Isabella I have just mentioned was the sister of Hugh, the last Mortimer of Ricard's Castle, and who bore on his banner those two bars vair at the siege of Kaerlaverock. Hugh died 32 of Ed. I, leaving two daughters, Joan and Margaret. His brother William assumed the arms of his mother, Joyce, daughter and heir of William de la Zouche, and their sister Isabella de Mortimer was, therefore, the only person of that name who could rightfully display the two coats of Mortimer of Ricard's Castle. Thirdly, I find that a William de Mortimer, the great uncle of Isabella, died 2 of Ed. II, and is called in the inquisition *post mortem*, "William de Mortuomari de Hamme," and that either he or William, the brother of Isabella, in the 26 of Edward I, had custody of the lands of Margaret, daughter and heir of Brian Fitz-

Walter *de Brompton*; the deed to which this seal was attached being a confirmation of a grant of lands purchased by Isabella from the daughters of Roger *de Brompton*, most probably members of the same family with Brian Fitz Walter.

These are but hasty notes, yet I think they may be worked into proof, and I hope to be able to do this before our next meeting in November."

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited, and made the following remarks upon, a casque or morion, with triple comb, and embossed with the Florentine fleur-de-lis on each side. "In Sir S. Meyrick's collection a casque similar to this is described as belonging to an officer of the guard of Cosmo de Medici, A.D. 1568. The badge of the Florentine fleur-de-lis was granted by Louis XI to the Medici family as a symbol of allegiance. I exhibit also another casque, the subject of which is in repoussée work. The crest is in the form of a warrior and terminates in scrolls. On either side is a winged syren, one bearing a trumpet and the other a palm branch, and each holding the warrior by the beard, the work being probably Milanese of the middle of the sixteenth century. A painted shoe, beginning of fifteenth century, from Aldersgate Street. Two small Roman sandals from London Wall. An axe (probably Saxon) from an excavation in the Minories. Another axe from Mark Lane, found with two Roman cinerary urns and fragments of Roman pottery. Two woollen burgess's flat caps, time about Henry VII. Each of these caps contained a gold coin concealed in the double rim, the one a gold angel of Richard III, and the other a quarter noble of Edward III." Mr. Baily said that these caps came from an excavation in Finsbury about four weeks ago.

The Rev. Oswald Master, of Croston, Lancashire, sent for exhibition a Pali MS. of chapters I and IV of the *Kammavāṣa*, or ordination manual, written on twelve leaves of the talipot tree in black japan letters, and having the outside covers elaborately ornamented with japanned gold work. It is $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches long, by $3\frac{3}{4}$ wide, written in the square Pali character, which is only used for the ordination service, and a translation of it, by the Rev. Benjamin Clough, will be found in the *Miscellaneous Translations from Oriental Languages*, printed for the Oriental Translation Fund (8vo., London, 1831), vol. ii; while a description of its contents is given in R. Spence Hardy's *Eastern Monachism* (8vo., London, 1850), p. 44.

In reference to Pali MSS. the following remarks, reprinted from the *Bibliotheca Suseeriana*, vol. i, p. cclxxix, by our late lamented vice-president, Mr. T. J. Pettigrew, will be read with interest:—

"Pali, commonly pronounced Bali, is the sacred and philosophical language of the peninsula of India. 'Depuis le puissant et vaste empire des Barmans, ou Birmans, jusqu'aux royaumes de Siam, et peut-être de Tchiampa, il règne avec le titre vénérable de langage, de la religion,

et de la science.”¹ The religion of Buddha is common to all these people, and it is probable that a knowledge of the Pali language, at present scarcely known to Europeans, would remove the veil with which hitherto the tenets and mysteries of this religion have been hidden from our eyes. The professors of Buddhism, in the north, use the Sanscrit; those of the south, the Pali. ‘With the exception of the Malays (says Leyden), and perhaps some rude tribes of mountaineers, the nations who occupy the countries which extend from India to China profess only one religion, and adhere almost solely to the system of Budd’h. In so vast an extent of country some diversity of local institutions is always to be expected; but the spirit of the system, and its influence on the manners of the people in the same state of civilisation, is essentially the same from Chatigan to China. This system in its grand features identifies itself with that which prevails in Nepal, Bután, and Tibét, and has extended itself over the immense regions of Chin, Cham, Japucn, or China, Tartary, and Japan. Though it does not appear that all the nations who occupy this prodigious extent of territory, employ the same learned language in the preservation of their sacred books and religious tracts, yet this is the case with the Indo-Chinese nations, who, with the Singhalese, or inhabitants of Ceylon, uniformly employ the Báli, or Pali, in the sacred compositions of the Budd’hist sect. This language does not exist as a vernacular tongue, but is the language of religion, learning, and science; and appears to have exerted an influence over the vernacular languages of the Indo-Chinese nations, similar to that which the Sanscrit has exhibited among the popular languages of Hindostan and Dek’hin.”²

“Vincentio Sangermano, an Italian priest, a long time resident at Rangoon, was one of the first Europeans at all acquainted with the Pali language. He was a missionary; and from his three Latin treatises³ on the mythology and the religion of the Burmans, taken from books in the Pali language, Dr. F. Buchanan compiled his very curious and interesting memoir on the religion and literature of the Burmas, inserted in the sixth volume of the *Asiatic Researches*. Buchanan has given a translation, or, as Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen term it, a paraphrase of a book called the *Kammavásha*, which contains the rules of the ordination of mendicant priests, known to Europeans under the name of Talapoins.⁴ According to Buchanan, many inscriptions and books like to the *Kammavásha* are written in the square Pali; but, in

¹ Essai sur le Pali, p. 3.

² On the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations, inserted in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. x.

³ The *Cosmographia Barmana*; a short View of the Religion of Godama, supposed to have been written by the Zarado, who wrote the *Compendium Legis Barmanorum* and the *Kammavaza* or *Kammavasha*, a book of ordination.

⁴ From two Sanscrit words, *tala-patra*, leaf of palm, because all the priests carry a large leaf of palm as a fan.

general, the character is round, and resembles the ordinary Burman letters. 'The form of the Bali character varies essentially among the different nations by whom it is used. The square Bali character, employed by the Burmas, differs much from that which is used among the Siamese, and approaches nearer the form of the Barma character. The Siamese Bali character is termed by the Siamese Nangsu Khôm, the Khôm, or Khohmén character, having, according to their own tradition, derived it from that nation. The square Barma character seems to coincide with the Bali character of Lanka or Ceylon; though in that island, Bali compositions are frequently written in the proper Sing'hala character.'¹ The Pali is derived from the Sanscrit, and, according to Messrs. Burnouf and Lassen, there is no grammatical form in Pali the original of which may not be found in the Sanscrit; the chief part of the words are met with in both, without any modification, and in those which do differ, the roots can be traced in the Sanscrit. It may be interesting to the reader to know what these learned men, whose researches on this subject are entitled to the highest praise, say upon the affinity of the two languages. A short extract will suffice: "Quand on compare le Pali en tant qu'il est formé du Samskrit, avec les autres dialectes sortis de la même origine, on trouve qu'il se rapproche incomparablement plus qu'aucun autre de cette source commune. Il est, en quelque sorte, au premier degré de l'échelle, à partir du Samskrit, et il ouvre la série des langues qui altèrent ce riche et féconde idiôme. Mais il semble que le Pali, qui portait en lui des germes d'altération déjà fort développés, ait été arrêté tout d'un coup, et fixé à l'état où nous le voyons aujourd'hui, c'est-à-dire, se rattachant presque immédiatement à l'idiôme dont il est sorti. En effet, la plupart des mots qui forment le fond de l'un, se retrouvent dans l'autre sans aucune modification; ceux qui sont altérés peuvent tous être ramenés à leur racine Samskrite; enfin, on ne trouve pas en Pali de mots d'origine étrangère. Ce phénomène est d'autant plus remarquable que le Pali fleurit depuis long-temps au milieu de nations dont les langues populaires sont essentiellement différentes. Mais il s'explique par cette considération, que le Pali a reçu du Samskrit la masse des mots dont les sujets religieux, philosophiques, etc., nécessitent l'emploi, et qu'en même tems ce fonds était assez riche pour qu'il n'eût pas besoin de faire d'emprunts à aucune autre langue. C'est là un fait que la lecture d'un certain nombre de textes nous autorise à avancer. Cependant nous ne nions pas que cette assertion ne puisse être trop générale, et nous convenons que dans des compositions d'un genre différent de celles que nous connaissons, il ne serait pas impossible de trouver quelques mots qui ne sont pas d'origine Samskrite."²

¹ Leyden on the Languages and Literature of the Indo-Chinese Nations, p. 280.

² Essai sur le Pali, pp. 139, 140.

“Le Pali ne peut avoir de dialectes. Transplantés tout entier de l’Inde dans les diverses contrées de la presqu’île, il y est resté fixé à l’état de langue morte.”¹

Mr. Master also exhibited a small bronze bust, which was stated to him to be Roman, and two metal balls, probably toys, which, when shaken, produced a whizzing noise that continued for several minutes.

Mr. G. Adams and Mr. Syer Cuming concurred in thinking that the bust exhibited by Mr. Master was not Roman, but a good modern imitation.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., then read the following paper:—

ON THE DISCOVERY OF THE REMAINS OF THE MORSE IN LONDON.

“If the archæologist is desirous of mastering the great problem of the primeval ethnology of Britain, he must no longer confine his attention to the chipped flint and sharpened bone, but study carefully and diligently the ancient flora and fauna of the country and its geological features, so far at least as the quaternary beds are concerned; for without a familiarity with these matters his theories have no solid bases to rest upon; his most ingenious guesses are but leaps in the dark with which no man of science can be satisfied. To thoroughly know a people you must know their land and its products—its mineral treasures, its vegetables yielding food, the timber furnished by its forests, the animals which roam its glens and mountains, the birds which fly through its air, the creatures which fill its waters.

Slowly and gradually we are obtaining a glimpse of the archaic flora and fauna of our country at a time when man, as a rude savage, was thinly scattered over Britain; but much, very much, yet remains to be unfolded. From the slight view already gained of the far remote past, we learn that among our native mammals must be numbered the bear, martin, lemming, woolly rhinoceros, mammoth, musk ox, elk, reindeer, and gigantic balœnoptera, a powerful group of witnesses attesting the former existence of a temperature of great frigidity; and to this list of creatures we are now enabled to add another name, that of the morse or walrus (*Tricheus rosmarus*), the exhumation of the remains of which in London offers a further and convincing proof that our country during the *palæolithic*, and, perhaps, even at the dawn of the *neolithic* age, possessed a climate near akin, if not identical, with that now dominant within the Arctic zone. The discovery of traces of the morse in the soil of the metropolis marks an era, not only in Britannic archæology, but in the physical history of our island, the importance of which cannot be overrated.

In a footnote to my paper on the snow-knife exhumed in Smithfield, mention is made of a portion of the skull of a morse, found at a great

¹ Ibid., p. 154.

depth in Long Alley, Moorfields, February 1866, and this specimen must now engage our special attention as the first thing of its kind which had fallen under scientific observation. So novel, indeed, did this piece of bone appear to the finders that I was asked a guinea for it, and it was only after its continuing on hand for some time that I obtained it for a more moderate sum. This ancient relic consists of a large portion of the massive muzzle of the animal, with the base removed, but still leaving full 4 in. of the alveoli of the formidable tusks; the outer wall, however, of the left socket has been broken off and lost since I first examined the specimen; but in its present imperfect state the bone weighs rather over 2 lbs. The sides, crown and back of this muzzle are carefully tooled over so as to reduce it to the required form, and it would be highly interesting to determine what sort of agent was employed in this reduction: to my mind it was a chisel, others say a saw, but the concavity of the interior of the bone was surely never due to the use of the last named instrument. The tool-marks have, in all probability, been partially rubbed down with a stone, sand, or fish-skin, more pains apparently having been bestowed on the back than on the front of the muzzle.

The spot whence this extraordinary relic was obtained is undoubtedly one of the most ancient sites of man's existence which has yet been explored in London. True it is that articles belonging to the Roman and Keltic eras were there found, but the bulk of the objects met with are certainly referable to that remote epoch when the pin, the dagger, the arrow-blade, and the spear-head were wrought of bone and antler; and huge whales furnished the barbaric tribes with valuable materials for handiwork and household service; and the old Londoners feasted on the greasy flesh of the silurus—a big, ponderous fish still found in the rivers of Northern Europe, but whose visits to our shores are now rare indeed.¹

Mr. J. W. Baily has lately obtained information that at no great distance from Long Alley, viz., at London Wall, another example of a similarly worked morse muzzle was exhumed at a great depth, but was unfortunately flung aside with other bones, and with them shared the fate of being ground to powder for the purposes of manure.

A third example of a tooled morse muzzle has now come to light, and every one who takes an interest in the early condition of our island will rejoice to hear that Mr. Baily has saved it from destruction, and now submits it for inspection. It belonged to a somewhat larger animal than the one which afforded the specimen from Moorfields, and in spite of the breaking away of part of the right tusk-socket, it still weighs 2 lbs. 13½ oz. The bone is cut in rather broader facets than

¹ In the spring of 1866 the osseous dermal scales of a very large *Silurus* *glanis* were found, with food refuse, in Long Alley, Moorfields.



the one just described, and the tool-marks are more completely obliterated.

This most important specimen was found March 20th, 1868, on the site of No. 25, Lombard Street, and lay beneath a Roman pavement, above which were found *dupondii* of the Fabia family, Nero, and Antoninus Pius, the latter coin commemorating the Conquest of Britain A.D. 144. This pavement was met with between seventeen and eighteen feet below the present roadway, and from the aspect of the place it is fair to conclude that the bone in question was pitched by chance into a hole with earth required to level the surface of the ground for the reception of the concrete in which the red tessellæ are bedded. It would, of course, be futile to speculate as to the depth or spot whence the Roman *fossor* obtained the material for levelling the inequalities of soil, though it was in all probability in the immediate neighbourhood of his labours.

There is an old saying, that one swallow does not make a summer, and when the Long Alley bone was regarded as an unique discovery, I was told that its occurrence in London was a mere accident to which no importance could be attached. Now, however, that we have accounts of three distinct finds of the remains of the morse in metropolitan soil, the theory of chance must be given up, and we may justly claim the creature as a member of the fauna of primeval Britain.¹ Those who are cognisant of the heedless way in which the navy casts aside the bones met with during excavation, and the ruthless manner in which the "*boner*" consigns them to the mill, cannot feel surprised at the apparent scant traces of the morse within the area of the city. Scores of the osseous relics of the unwieldy beast may have been exhumed, and lost for ever to science, like the muzzle from London Wall.

But to return to the object before us. It must be clear to the most careless observer that these morse muzzles were fashioned into their present shape for a like purpose; but what that purpose was is still a mystery. In the opinion of some, these bones were mounted on stout staves, to be employed as mattocks to till the ground, or as clubs to wage the death-strife. Others, again, fancy that they may have served as net-sinks; or been tied to the end of a strong rope wielded in war and chase like the *Bolas* of the Patagonians. A further notion is, that they formed portions of sledges for travelling over snow and ice. Can they have constituted the beaks of skin-covered canoes, somewhat in the manner of the bone and ivory terminations of the prow and stern of the *Kayak* of the Greenlanders, as shown in the pretty little native

¹ The only recent visit of the morse to British waters, that I know of, is the one which took place in December 1817, when, according to Professor Macgillivray, a small specimen was shot on the east coast of Harris, one of the Western Isles.

model I produce? The great alveoli of the tusks of the morse would afford capital ready-made mortises to hold the tenons of the gunwales of the wooden frame-work of a life-boat, and the stout compact bone of the muzzle is well adapted to resist the blows of the heavy masses of drift ice which must have encumbered our waters in ancient times.

Some may be astonished that the works of the *Skroelling* should be invoked to explain objects discovered in London; but, be my suggestion regarding the morse muzzles right or wrong (and I by no means insist on its correctness), of this I am firmly convinced, that the more intimate we become with the arts and modes of the Esquimaux, and the tribes located on the north-western coast of North America, the better fitted shall we be to comprehend the relics of the palæolithic and neolithic periods of the Britannic Islands.

In closing these few remarks, I cannot suppress a feeling of pride that it has fallen to the lot of this Association to make known, within a few months, some of the most important discoveries which have yet taken place relating to primeval London. We have shown that our present vast metropolis had its germ in a pile village;¹ that gigantic whales were once denizens of the valley of the Thames;² that the ancient British savage had his snow-knife like the modern Esquimaux;³ and last, but not least in significance, that the morse of the Arctic regions was no stranger to the nameless and mysterious races who here flourished centuries before the brazen-equipped Kelt landed on our island, subdued its wild inhabitants, and laid the foundation of a power and civilisation, venerable in age ere Cæsar's galleys ploughed their way through the ocean and anchored on our shores.

Mr. T. Gunston then read the following account of further discoveries made at a Roman building in Lower Thames Street, City:—

“During the early part of the year 1859 I inspected another portion of the baths or villa discovered in 1848, and described by Mr. Chaffers (so far as then known) in the pages of our *Journal*, vol. iv, p.p. 38-45. The obstructions which existed in 1848 being now fully removed, the following additional remains were disclosed—

“Letter L, on the right side of the plan, shews the south and east part of a room measuring about twenty-three feet square, surrounded by a wall three feet in thickness constructed entirely of red and yellow bricks or tiles eighteen inches by twelve and one and a half thick, remaining in parts to the height of six feet and lined in the interior with stucco. The original floor was paved with inch square tesserae, but the room appears at a subsequent period to have been newly floored; for in parts above this floor was a very thick layer of coarse concrete, upon which lay a covering of very hard red cement three inches in

¹ See *Journal*, xxii, 446; xxiii, 87.

² *Ib.*, xxiii, 251, 289, and p. 72 *ante*.

³ *Ib.*, p. 116 *ante*.

thickness. Within this apartment was found a quantity of window-glass, an iron key, several jet hair-pins, a large bone pin for securing the dress, some bone needles, an earthen lamp bearing a tragic mask and the maker's name EVCARIS, and a second brass coin of the Emperor Nero.

"North of this room was another, nineteen feet in length by twelve width, with semicircular end projecting towards the east, the walls being two feet thick and composed of all flat tiles; the floor of plain red and yellow tesserae was supported by the pillars of the hypocaust, thirty-one in number regularly disposed. These supports in several instances were formed of upright flue tiles filled with concrete, while the others were pillars of eight-inch square tiles set in strong mortar, covered by other tiles of larger length and breadth.

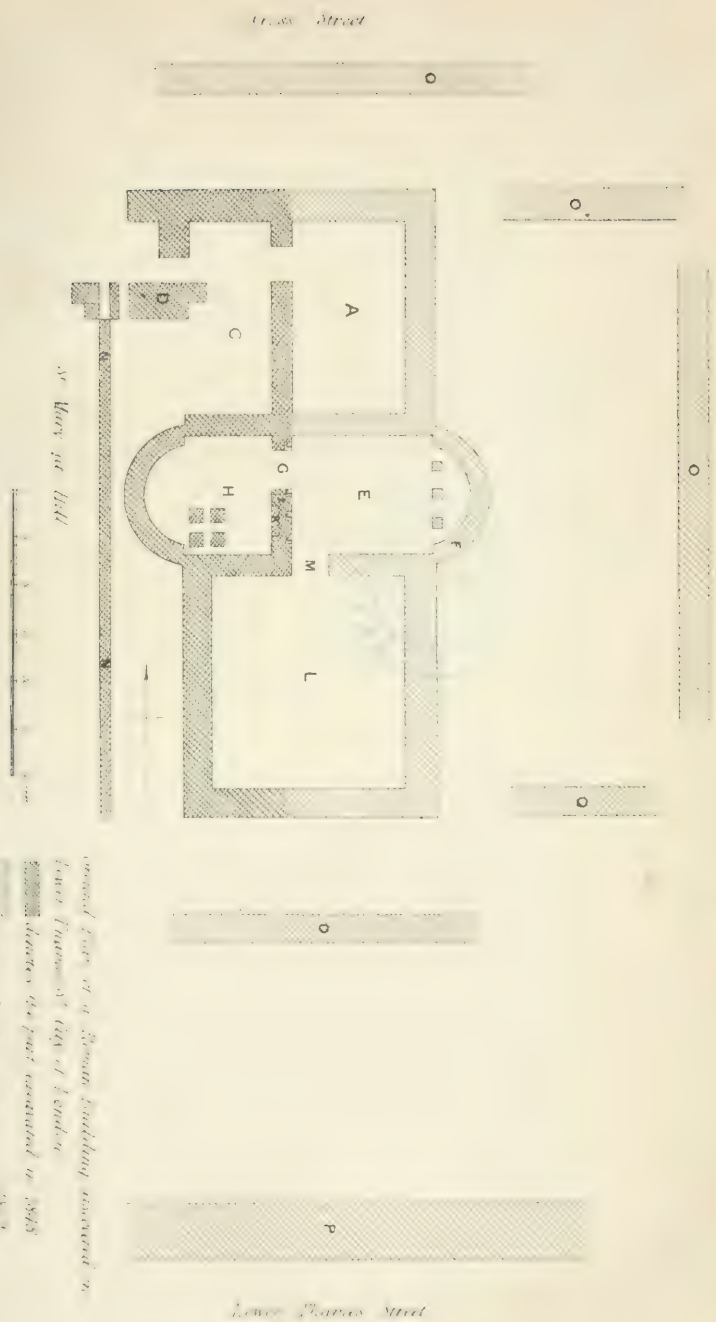
"In the west wall, at regular intervals, were four vertically placed ornamented flue tiles with lateral openings, flush with the interior, but about six inches from the bottom of the hypocaust. Near the centre was an opening apparently intended for the air to pass into the hypocaust discovered in 1848.

"To the south-east is an arched way fifteen inches by eight, receding about three feet, neatly turned, with very small tiles; doubtless the direction of the furnace from whence the hot air proceeded; but the ground in this part having been previously disturbed no other investigation could be made, but much charred wood and charcoal were met with.

"The stucco in the interior of the hypocaust was particularly smooth and perfect, and at a depth of eight inches from the bottom ran a bold plaster moulding. Northward, but adjoining, were the remains of a third room, measuring twenty feet by twelve. The walls existed only to the floor, which was coarsely tessellated. Within this apartment was found the capital of an oolitic stone column, fragments of stone cornice, besides brass coins of the Roman Emperors, Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius. Further eastward, and indeed in nearly all parts of the excavation, traces of subordinate rooms and other specimens of architecture were met with, but the outer wall marked P on the plan was of extraordinary solidity and entirely formed of Kentish rag stone. Scattered about were fragments of culinary and drinking vessels, roofing tiles, and red coralline pottery, some highly embossed, and others bearing the impress ALBVCI ATILLIANI and MARTI, besides a perfect patera and urn of Upchurch ware; also remains of the boar, stag, sheep, and ox, and shells of the oyster, mussel, and edible snail.

"The principal part of the remains found in 1848 the city architect took pains to preserve, and are visible to such visitors to the Coal Exchange as may desire to see them; but those discovered in 1859 were built over, and will perhaps form a subject for antiquarian discussion at some distant period. It is not often we find in Roman buildings

St. Francis Hall



Ground plan of a Roman building excavated at
 Lower Francis Street at the end of
 the street the part excavated in 1868
 1869



adjoining rooms with semicircular ends, but such were met with in the ancient city of Bath,¹ when the extensive remains of Roman Bath were laid open some years back."

References to the Ground Plan.—A, north-east room, paved with tesserae, under which a number of piles were found, the soil being very marshy and insecure. B, passage leading to C, room discovered in 1848. D, block of solid Roman masonry. E, semicircular room with hypocaust. F, arched way leading to the furnace. G, doorway leading to H, semicircular room with hypocaust, discovered in 1848. I, passage for hot air. J, flue tiles for conveying air to remote parts of the building. K, recessed seat of masonry capable of seating two persons. L, principal apartment facing the river. M, step and doorway leading from south apartment. N, long balks of timber channelled to form a drain or water-way with a fall towards the Thames. O, walls of buildings composed of tiles. P, solid outer wall of Kentish rag stone.

Mr. H. T. Humphreys laid before the meeting the following further remarks upon a passage in Mr. Holt's paper upon ear-rings (see *ante*, p. 274). The Hebrew word נֶזֶם (Nēzem), is explained by Gesenius to mean a nose-jewel; and it is also used to signify an ear-ring; but then it is always in the plural (Gen. xxxv, 4), 'And they gave Jacob the *ear-rings* which were in their *ears*'. The root of the word has the meaning 'to bore', and hence is applied to the nostril itself, and the corresponding words in Syriac and Æthiopic signify rings put into the nostrils of animals. If there were no other argument in favour of the word meaning nose-jewel, a common Oriental ornament, the fact of its being in the singular number, while the numeral *two* is given as respects the bracelets, would in itself be significant; but, notwithstanding that the Septuagint translators use the word in the plural and leave untranslated the special word *nose* in the 47th verse, this verse in the Hebrew and Vulgate is, I think, conclusive as to the character of the trinket, which I submit must have been a nose-jewel, as most commentators on the passage have stated."

Mr. Holt observed that Mr. Humphreys was possibly correct in the critical remarks he had made, and without insisting upon the precise accuracy of the translation of the passages cited in Gen. xxiv, as they appeared in our own version, he thought that the distinct mention of *ear-rings* in Gen. xxxv, 4; Judges viii, 25; and other passages of the early books of the Old Testament, fully proved their great antiquity as articles of personal adornment.

¹ See *Aquæ Solis, or Notices of Roman Bath*, by Rev. H. M. Scarth. 4to., London, 1864, p. 14.

Proceedings of the Congress.

(Continued from p. 204.)

FRIDAY, AUGUST 2ND.

At nine o'clock the members and their friends left in carriages *en route* for Aston Church, several of the party stopping for a few minutes on the way to inspect the small church of Leinthall Starkes, where there was a very curious roof. The following notice of this church, from the pen of Mr. T. J. Irvine, will indicate its chief features of interest:—

“This small church, which lies almost hidden under immense old yew trees, consists of nave, chancel, and a south porch constructed of wood. The walls are Norman. High up on the west wall is a single early English light, and at both sides of the gable, level with the line of the side eaves, are seen those exterior Norman corbels so often found in the west; as, for instance, at Abbey Dore Abbey. The wooden porch and the carved wooden door from it into the church are not earlier than the time of James I or Charles I. A single Norman light remains in the north wall of the nave, and a late three-light perpendicular inserted window in the south side. The chancel is lighted by single Norman lights in the north and east walls, and a curious two-light decorated window on the south side. Part of the perpendicular rood screen remains, and a beam across with other corbels in the side walls of the chancel shows that the rood loft was confined to that side and did not extend westwards beyond the face of the arch. In the nave, on each side of the chancel arch, are remains of very curious chantry chapels, enclosed by close low screens rising only a few inches above the seats. I may mention that open screens of full height enclosing chantries in a similar manner and situation, remained at the neighbouring church of Downton-on-the-Rock. The font is plain late Norman or early English. The most interesting feature, however, in the church is an exceedingly beautiful open roof. The circular-shaped principals carry on each side two purlins. The spaces between the wall plate and purlins, and again between the purlins themselves, are formed by the prin-

cipals into a series of squares, inside which again wind-braces form lozenge-shaped openings. The outer edge of each wind-brace being cusped, makes quatrefoils crossed by the main timbers. The ornamented construction produces thus a remarkably rich and effective design."

Mr. Irvine, in directing attention to it, showed by the details that, although at first sight it appeared to be a most florid design of the period of decorated architecture, it was, nevertheless, not of earlier date than the time of James I or Charles I; and mentioned that one of even still richer design had been destroyed a few years ago at Diddlebury Church. He said that, while one of a similar date remained over a chantry aisle at Clungunford Church, they would, in a few minutes, see another example, only simpler in design, at Wigmore Church.

At Aston the party was courteously received by the vicar, the Rev. W. Williams, and after viewing the church, the principal object of which was a Norman doorway, stated to be of about A.D. 1100, and some ancient tumuli, they started for the ancient village of Wigmore, where they were met by several of the neighbouring gentry and inhabitants of the village. The church and the castle are here the chief objects of interest. The former, which was first visited, was said to have been founded by Hugh Mortimer in 1179. It is a plain style of building, with a very large chancel, plastered walls, and open oak roof. Mr. Gordon Hills and Mr. Roberts gave a description of its peculiarities, and it was stated that the greater part of it was attributable to the fourteenth century. The stalls of the chancel, which were of carved oak, were given by Edward IV. Mr. Roberts remarked that the herring-bone work in the walls was generally indicative of Saxon work, but in this instance he had no doubt it was Norman. The vicar said that until two years ago the chancel arch was a great deal narrower than it is now, and round at the top, without any ornament. Mr. Irvine wished to direct attention to the hammer beams, which he thought were of about Charles I's time.

The party then proceeded to the castle, of which there are only very small remains. According to Mr. Henry Godwin, F.S.A., it was built by Edward the elder, 901-24. It was strengthened and repaired by William Fitz Osborne, Earl of Hereford, or by Ranulph de Mortimer, *temp.* William I, 1066-87. Roger de Mortimer resided here, when Edward I was imprisoned in Hereford Castle by Simon de Montfort and aided his escape from Hereford.

The party with some difficulty ascended the hill upon which the ruins of the castle stand, and Mr. Gordon Hills, Mr. Blashill, and Mr. Roberts, offered some observations upon the building. Mr. Thomas Wright thought the place was involved in such mystery that great consideration should be exercised before any opinion was advanced.

He believed the castle had been raised upon an old Saxon foundation. He had seen several specimens of the building of Norman castles upon the sites of Roman buildings.

A move was then made to Wigmore Grange, the place where, within a few weeks, according to reports, a subterraneous passage had been discovered which communicated with Wigmore Castle. This was examined by several of the gentlemen present, and determined to be only a large drain. In the house numerous curiosities were exhibited, among which were coins, seals, and other relics connected with the place, also an ancient gold watch, a letter written by Oliver Cromwell, and several other objects of interest.

After an inspection of the curiosities, the visitors were invited to a very handsome luncheon prepared by Mr. A. Salway and the Rev. C. Custance. After thanks had been returned to Mr. Salway and Mr. Custance, the party, under the conduct of Mr. Hills, went round the buildings. He said the Priory of Wigmore was founded in the twelfth century by the Mortimers, whose names were so great in the annals of England. There was but little to be seen remaining of the ecclesiastical portion of the buildings. The remains of the church were visible, and also the extent of the former chancel, which were marked by mounds clearly discernible.

A very large barn was then visited, which presented some remarkable features. It was exceedingly lofty, but yet the principals of the building were all in one piece, running from within a few feet of the ground to the top, the timbers averaging about two feet four inches wide, and eight inches in thickness, each one evidently cut out of a single tree. Mr. Hills, in describing it, said they must be struck with the wisdom of their forefathers, which had suggested to them the putting up of their buildings in such a substantial manner. Here at least sixteen trees of magnificent dimensions had been cut up to form the building they were in. They could not, with any certainty, fix the date of the building.

The party then proceeded to Downton Castle, the picturesque seat of A. Boughton Knight, Esq., who had kindly invited them to a luncheon. It was served in a most sumptuous manner on a horse-shoe table in the large dining-room. As each group of visitors retired from the table they strolled about the lovely grounds and gardens by which the mansion is surrounded or the magnificent suite of rooms, the walls of which are hung with well-known pictures by great masters. On tables and in cabinets of curious and beautiful workmanship a fine collection of articles of vertu was exhibited. After the expression of their thanks to Mr. and Mrs. Boughton Knight, the party returned to Ludlow.

In the evening the usual meeting was held at the Assembly Rooms,

Gordon M. Hills, Esq., occupying the chair. The first paper was read by the Rev. Geo. Tyler Townsend, on the

MEDIAEVAL INSTRUMENTS OF POPULAR PUNISHMENT, PRESERVED IN LUDLOW AND LEOMINSTER.

I would fain deprecate (he said) the wrath of the ladies who now honour us with their presence, when I state that the "fair sex" were the culprits for whom, by the rude ungallantry of our forefathers, these instruments of popular punishment were originally prepared.

The towns of Ludlow and Leominster still possess three of these forms of indignity to which female offenders under the ancient municipal codes were occasionally subjected, viz. the Mortar, the Cucking-stool, and the Branks.

The mortar was a wooden utensil made after the fashion of an ordinary pail or bucket, which was used (and doubtless the occasions, like angel visits, were few and far between) as occasion required. Boys, in his *History of Sandwich*, gives the most circumstantial account of its use. Sometimes it was carried gaudy with ribbons, and ornamented with flowers. At other times it was borne on the shoulder at the end of an old broom, in all its naked simplicity; and occasionally it was carried by the beadle or constable ringing a bell, and accompanying the offenders. All these different processes were meant to effect the same end, the provoking towards the culprit the laughter, ridicule, and contempt of the bystanders. The causes of a resort to this punishment were the offences of the tongue. As late as 1637 Boys relates that a woman was compelled by the magistrates to bear through the town the mortar hanging on the end of an old broom borne on her shoulder, one going before her tingling a small bell, "for abusing Mrs. Mayoress, and for saying she did not care for her the value of a raspberry tart."

I need not say much in such an assembly as this about the cucking-stool. A very great deal of learning has of late years been expended on this mediæval instrument of punishment or torture. Mr. Albert Way, in his edition of the *Promptorium Parvulorum*, Professor Llewellyn Jewitt in his admirable periodical *The Reliquary*, Mr. Thomas Wright in his *Archæological Album*, have exhausted the subject. Their unanimous opinions ascribe the origin of this machine to the most rude and primitive ideas of our forefathers. They were desirous to mark their estimate of certain conduct with tokens of infamy, and chose a rough and ready way of exciting indignation and derision against the offenders by publicly placing them on a chair of infamy—*Cathedra stercoris*, as it is styled in *Domesday Book*. They thus sought to hold up their example to a general avoidance. This original use of this instrument of punishment was in later years accompanied with an immersion in water; and thus in the progress of time its name was changed from the "cucking"

to the "ducking" stool. This mode of punishment took its place among the most acknowledged punishments of this country. As the Squire Westerns of the last century would naturally send a sturdy beggar to the stocks; so the bailiffs and capital burgesses of the second, third, and fourth centuries preceding the present, with equally instinctive readiness, devoted the female offender to the cucking-stool. Every leet court, bailiwick, and borough claimed the privilege of having, and of using this instrument of punishment. Some of the earlier archives of our boroughs depict the mode of administering this punishment. The fair culprits condemned to its use are described as sitting with naked feet and dishevelled hair falling behind their back and over their neck and face for so long a time as the court shall award, so that they be seen of all those that shall pass by.

The form of the cucking-stool was various. It was originally a simple chair of scorn, a seat of infamy and disgrace, roughly fastened on poles, which served as handles for the conveyance of the offender. It became in some towns like the stocks or pillory fastened in one spot beside the river or the stream by which the new ingredient in the punishment was to be supplied. Bray, in his *History of Surrey*, gives an account of such an erection at Mortlake; it became in other towns provided with a permanent platform and wheels, by which it conveyed the culprit to the water, as need required. Of this latter sort is the ducking-stool still preserved in a very perfect state in the neighbouring borough of Leominster. The sketch, which I exhibit, was drawn for my *History of Leominster* by my friend "Cuthbert Bede". This ducking-stool, you will see, is a machine of the very simplest construction. It consists of a strong narrow framework of thick oak planks, placed on four wheels of solid wood, about 4 inches in thickness, and 18 inches diameter. In the one end of this frame two upright supports or posts between 3 and 4 feet high are strongly embedded in the platform. An iron bar fastened between these two posts on their higher part carries a massive moveable beam divided into two arms of equal length. One of these strong arms, extending 7 or 8 feet beyond the supports, carries the chair at its extreme end. The other arm, of equal length, is more artificially disposed of. It is divided in its midst by a hinge, which allows it to form a kind of elbow, the forearm of which is fastened to the platform, and the remainder projects beyond the platform in a direction opposite to the chair. This second beam, when the padlock is removed, and when the hinge is fastened round with a cord, assumes its original shape, and becomes a beam similar in length to the one which carries the chair. The result is that the inflictors of the punishment obtain a great purchase on the instrument. They are able to project the chair ten or twelve feet into the pool or river while they stand on the dry land and exercise their arms in the alternate

elevation or depression of the victim in the chair. I have myself, when vicar of Leominster a few years since, talked with a gentleman lately deceased, Dr. Watling, known probably to some present, who told me that he himself well-remembered to have seen this ducking-stool used when he was a boy. The operation, he told me, was performed in 1809 on a woman named Jenny Pipes; and he assured me that on this occasion the punishment was deserved, as the first words the woman spoke on being released from the *cathedra stercoris* were oaths and imprecations on the magistrates. One of the most spirited descriptions of the use of the ducking-stool is to be found in the poem of *Hudibras*, part ii, c. iv, l. 740. Butler held office in the Court of the Earl of Carbery, when Lord-President of the Marches, and occupied apartments near the gateway in the castle of Ludlow. The probability is that he had this very ducking-stool of Leominster in his eye when he wrote his lines. The operation, with all its concurrent circumstances of ribald jest and rabble mirth, was just of that rude character likely to find favour with one loving the rough acts, wild horse-play, and practical jokes described in the adventures of Sir Hudibras. It is too long to quote, but take these lines as a specimen of the buoyant spirit in which the author evidently enters into the fun of the occasion:—

“These mounted on a chair curule,
Which moderns call a ducking-stool,
March proudly to the river side,
And o’er the waves in triumph ride;
Like Dukes of Venice, who are said
The Adriatic sea to wed,
And have a gentler wife than those
For whom the state decrees these shows.”

The ducking-stool afforded to the play-writers in the last century the same service as policemen in this age, and was an ever constant source of ridicule. It was also the theme of some superior poetry. Thus Thomas West and Vincent Bourne have both illustrated it in verse. It would not be polite in the presence of so many ladies to speak at any greater length on the offences to which this punishment was awarded. The faults for which its use was inflicted can be pretty accurately guessed at from these burlesque lines, written in the time of Charles I.

“To Billingsgate now as we came,
We soon perceivèd waterman
To fish-wife was for railing foole,
And well might go to her to school:
Each one being so learned there,
She might be doctress of the chaire
Or ducking-stoole. And though o’ th’ tribe
But few were, well knew how to gibe.

Yet all knew well to scold on hight
Alarums to the ensuing fight,
Where each one did on each one fall,
And all were enemies to all."

The use and, we may hope, the need of this chair has passed away. It is an object of curiosity, and not of fear; and I may say, in the words of a motto engraven on one of these ancient instruments of punishment,

"And should all women patient Grizelles be,
Small use of cucking-stools they'd have, I see."

The branks is an instrument closely allied in the motives and purpose of its use, to the two other engines that have been described. It is, however, a much more coarse and severe punishment; and was, I am afraid, more common. Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt counts up thirteen examples of this instrument in Cheshire. The fair "Lancashire witches" had only five; and that was the number found in several other counties. This instrument was thus constructed. The foundation was an iron collar, which, admitting the neck by a piece which opened by a hinge, was fastened by a padlock. At the point where this iron collar touched the middle of the nape of the neck, another iron bar rose up with a slope or round extending forward to the centre of the forehead, where it met another piece of iron opening on an hinge, which, after admitting the head, clasped down on the loop prepared to receive the padlock. This bar coming across the nose and forehead was farther furnished with a gag which fitted the mouth and pressed upon the tongue of the sufferer, and caused exquisite torture. The shapes and form of this instrument were sometimes varied, but the description I have given is in its main features the groundwork of all the rest. This was sometimes adorned with flowers, and was also occasionally furnished with a chain, which the person in charge of the culprit carried in his hand, and with which he could press down the gag upon the tongue and mouth.

There are reasons for believing that the instrument in the museum at Ludlow is something beyond the ordinary branks. A writer in the *Archæological Journal* (quoted by Mr. Llewellyn Jewitt in the *Reliquary*, vol. i, p. 74) gives this highly-coloured account of it, which verily makes the blood run cold as if reading the horrors of the *oubliette*, or the thrilling pictures of Mrs. Radcliffe in the *Mysteries of Udolpho*:—"The powerful screwing apparatus of the instrument at Ludlow seems calculated to force the iron mask with torturing effect upon the brow of the victim. There are no eye-holes, but concavities in their places, as though to allow for the start of the eyeballs under violent pressure. There is a strong bar with a square bolt, evidently intended to fasten the criminal against a wall, for I have heard it said that these instru-

ments were used to keep the head steady in the infliction of branding." "Another cruel engine in the Ludlow Museum appears to have been intended to dislocate the arm, and to cramp and crush the fingers at the same time. It is, however, so much mutilated as to render its mode of application very difficult to make out."

It will be quite beyond the purpose on this occasion to enter into the question as to how far our public law admitted the use of torture. Great legal authorities can be quoted in the maintenance of either side of the question. The truth, I believe, is that the letter of the law forbade it, but the practice of the law permitted it. It is well-known that there was a "rack" in the Tower long before the introduction of the instrument of torture shewn there under the title of "Sheffington's daughters." Campion the Jesuit, Ann Ayscough, the Duke of Norfolk. Guido Fawkes, Francis Throgmorton, and several others, were notoriously put to the rack. Of course it was my business, in illustration of this subject, to find out if there was any evidence shewing the probable use of torture in the Court of the Marches, the president of which lived in regal splendour in this town. The late Mr. Robert Windsor Clive, in his interesting collection of the *Records of Ludlow*,¹ gives a document containing the "Instructions to Sir Henry Sidney." Among them I find this item:—"The said Lord President and Council, or those of them at least whereof the Lord President shall be one, upon sufficient ground matter or cause shall and may put any person accused and known or suspected of any treason, murder, or felony to tortures, when they shall think convenient, and that the cause shall apparently require, by their discretions." This is a very wide margin. Here we have the permission to torture; that permission surely implies the possession of some means of inflicting torture. These instruments in the Ludlow Museum may, or may not, have been the identical instruments used for this purpose. It is for others around me, more learned than myself, to give a verdict on the subject. *Adhuc sub jussu lis est*. However they may decide, I am sure there will be but one unanimous opinion among the gentlemen present, that they cannot hear too much the voices of their fair companions around them, or see them too often either to grace their board or enliven their excursions; and that whatever liberty of speech or severity of criticism they may be pleased to indulge in, they shall, during this Archæological meeting at Ludlow, be free from all penalty of mortar, branks, or cucking-stool."

George R. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., followed with a paper "On Sir Philip Sydney and his family in relation to Ludlow Castle," which will be printed in the next number of the *Journal*. A discussion followed relative to the character of the Earl of Leicester, who had been inci-

¹ Documents connected with the History of Ludlow and the Lords Marchers, by the Hon. R. W. Clive. London (Van Voorst), 1841.

dentally mentioned by Mr. Wright, and in which the Chairman, Mr. Levien, and Mr. G. Wright, took part, and during which it was agreed that the late Mr. Pettigrew had fully vindicated Leicester's memory from the charge of Amy Robsart's murder.

Mr. Blashill gave an account of some reversed carvings in Stottesdon Church, which had already been described by the Rev. Wm. Purton. He observed that other instances of reversed carvings had been met with elsewhere, and mentioned various theories which had been brought forward to account for them. After a few illustrative remarks on the subject by Messrs. Thomas Wright and A. Goldsmid, the proceedings for the next day were announced, and the meeting separated.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 3RD.

The members and their friends started this morning in carriages for Stanton Lacy Church, which is a spacious building recently restored in a very excellent manner. Mr. Gordon Hills, in speaking of the church, said there was nothing more difficult to deal with than the transition from Saxon to Norman. It was questioned by many whether there was any real architectural style before the Norman time. If they were to say there was no style of church architecture before then, he should be inclined to agree with them. He mentioned that, at Monkwearmouth there were some extraordinary remains, and showed a drawing of a beautiful Saxon door which existed in a church there of the date of 685, the earliest style of architecture existing amongst us. In the church in which they were assembled were many specimens of Saxon work. There were, however, solecisms and anomalies which were difficult to explain. Outside the church these points were dwelt upon at length without any solution being arrived at. The bells bore the date of 1693.

Diddlebury Church was next visited. Here were shown an iron-cast tablet, dated 1659, very fresh looking, and an engraved brass, with illuminated coat of arms of the date of 1674. Mr. Irvine said a church had existed here before the Conquest. In the wall there was a Saxon doorway with very curious hinges, and a great deal of herring-bone Saxon work. He afterwards pointed out some peculiarities outside the church, which gave evidence of Saxon work.

Thanks having been voted to Mr. Irvine for his lucid explanation of the building, and to the rector the Rev. Mr. Underwood, the carriages were again entered, and a start was made to Stokesay Castle, which excited the greatest interest from the antiquity of the ruins and the historical associations of the place. Mr. La Touche and Mr. Gordon Hills gave a description of the several apartments, which will be found embodied in the paper read by Mr. La Touche (see pp. 230-240 *ante*). The party

lingered long here, evidently much interested in the many curious reminiscences of bygone times which the old place suggested. A high and well-deserved compliment was paid to Mrs. Stackhouse Acton for the care she had so considerably bestowed upon these ancient ruins, in endeavouring to save them from molestation or decay.

A short drive brought the party to Oakley Park, where they were hospitably entertained by Lady Mary Windsor Clive, the whole of the Corporation of Ludlow having been also invited. The whole party numbered nearly two hundred, and the provision made for them was most liberal. Lady Mary herself was there to welcome them, accompanied by the Hon. Captain Clive, M.P., and the Hon. Colonel Percy Herbert, M.P. After the luncheon was over the visitors spread themselves into groups and strolled at leisure through the beautiful grounds and park, and afterwards through the grand suite of rooms in the hall. The noble timber trees in the park, more especially the "Druid Oaks", were viewed with the greatest admiration by all present, and the thanks of the Association having been returned to Lady Mary Clive for her reception, a start was made for Bromfield. Here the church was described by Mr. Roberts, but with the exception of some very handsome carved oak in the pulpit and chancel, and a very remarkable painted ceiling, there is nothing materially to excite attention. There are four bells in the tower, each of which bears an inscription and date from 1655 to 1676. Thanks having been voted to Mr. Roberts for his description of this church, the party returned to Ludlow.

At the evening meeting the President, Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, Bart., took the chair, and the Rev. Prebendary Scarth read his paper upon "Roman Itinera connected with Wales", which will be found at pp. 109, *ante*. It was illustrated by a large and elaborately executed map, and after the thanks of the meeting had been returned to Mr. Scarth, a short discussion took place in reference to some bronze weapons recently found near a tumulus at Broadward Hill, not far from "Watling-street". After observations by Mr. Thomas Wright, Mr. T. Blashill made some remarks upon the half-timbered houses of Ludlow, and said that the repairs and alterations which had taken place in some of them had been carried out in a manner which had gone a long way to destroy their picturesque appearance; whereas, if they had been "restored" in a proper style and with a due attention to archaeology, much of their ancient character might have been retained. Mr. Blashill also made some supplementary observations upon the reversed carvings in Stottesdon Church.

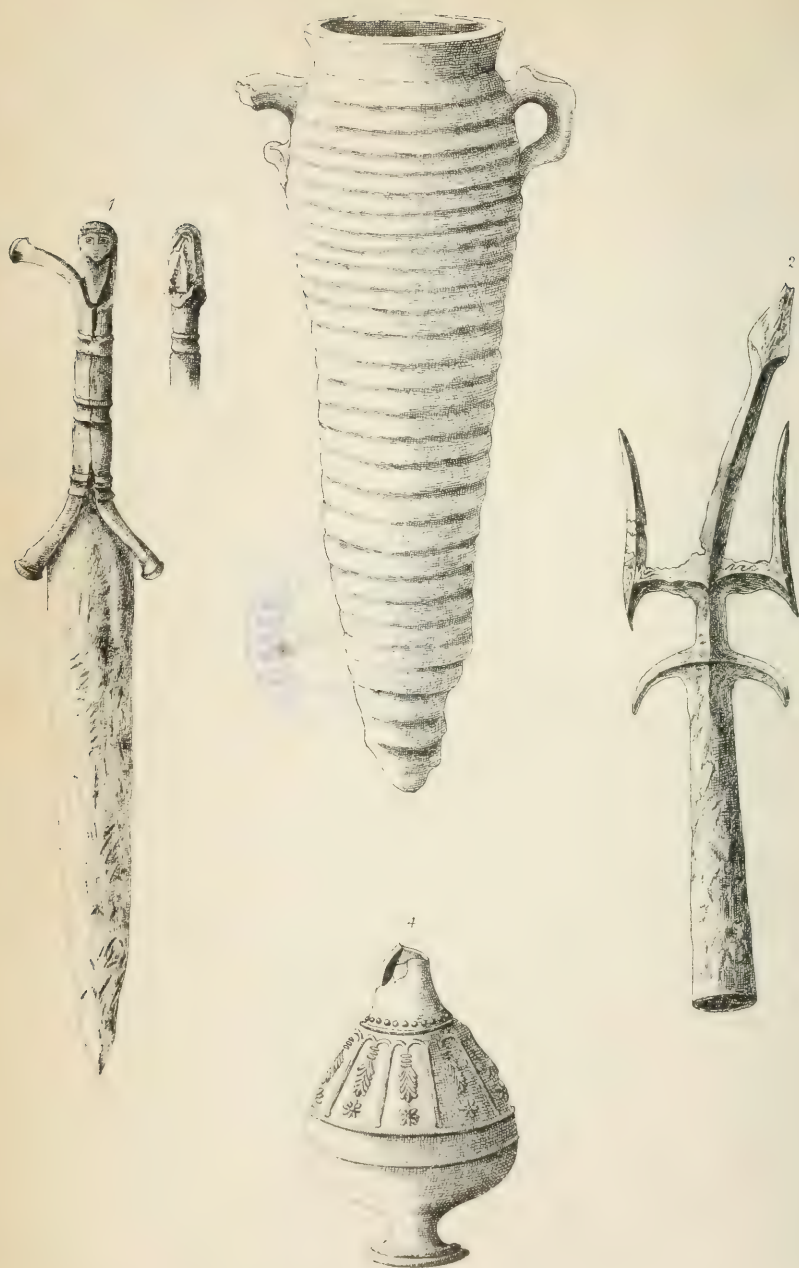
Mr. Thos. Wright thought that reversed carvings were often purely accidental, and resulted from the stone on which they were executed having been misplaced, and being upon its reinsertion put upside down.

Mr. Augustus Goldsmid, F.S.A., remarked that similar examples might be occasionally observed in heraldic shields, which were sometimes found reversed in the case of the last of a family, and also as a mark of disgrace.

The usual votes of thanks to the Mayor and Corporation of Ludlow, the President, the Local Committee, the entertainers of the Association, the readers of papers, the ladies who had favoured the Congress with their presence, and the officers of the Association, having been passed, it was announced that the Caradoc Field Club had invited such members of the Association as chose to remain till Monday to join them in an excursion to the "Clun Ditches", and Mr. Thomas Wright, M.A., F.S.A., said that, as he was going to Uriconium on the Tuesday, he should be most happy to meet any of them there on that day in order to conduct them over and explain to them the various fresh discoveries that had been made.

This concluded the business of the Congress, the success and enjoyment of which were greatly enhanced by the splendid weather which prevailed throughout. It may be added that invitations for the two "off days" at its conclusion were accepted by the majority of the members and friends of the Association, and that the gatherings both at the Clun Ditches and at Uriconium proved most interesting and agreeable to all who attended them.





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ON SOME GLADIATORIAL RELICS

IN THE COLLECTION OF J. W. BAILY, ESQ.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P.

THE four objects delineated in the accompanying plate may justly be numbered among the most curious Roman remains which have yet been brought to light on the southern shores of the Thames. They were exhumed together in March, 1865, in Stoney-street, on the west side of the Borough Market, an ancient thoroughfare, now almost annihilated or absorbed in the construction of the new railway. So little is now left beyond the name of this locality, that it may be well to state that it occupied a spot exactly fronting Dowgate; and it has been supposed that in early times a ferry was kept up across the river from these two opposite points of land.

Passing from the place of the find to the objects themselves, we may at once remark that, in spite of their novel character, they are unquestionably genuine antiques of the greatest rarity, though their discovery has unfortunately given birth to a most villanous forgery. To begin with the metal implements. We will take first the knife or dagger (fig. 1). This weapon is thirteen inches and three-quarters in length: the *manubrium*, or hilt, like the two-edged blade, being of iron, and having a singular looking head wrought on what may be termed the pommel or *capulus*. The grip is partly annulated, and cleft, and spreading above and below, the nether branches serving as a sort of *mora* or guard. It is clear, from a sword found at Pompeii, and from other

sources, that the hilts of the Roman *gladius* and *pugio* did at times terminate in the heads of animals and birds; but the presence of the human face on the Southwark relic is a circumstance demanding special notice.¹ In fact, so rare an object was this weapon considered by those into whose hands it first fell, that ere Mr. Baily could secure it, it was copied by the firm of "Billy & Charley" of Rosemary-lane, Minories; and its ectype, cast in cock-metal, may now be obtained for the cost of a few shillings, wherever excavations and railway cuttings are going on in and around London. But reverting from the modern ectype to the ancient archetype, it must be observed that there appears, at first sight, some difficulty in deciding the use of this curious instrument. It may be compared with the sacrificial *secespita* and military *pugio*; but it most probably appertains to the *bestiarius* who fought with wild animals in the amphitheatre, and of whom the Spanish *matador* may be considered the modern representative. From sculpture and paintings we learn that the Roman *bestiarii* were armed not only with short curved knives, like the *culter venatorius* (the ancient *couteau de chasse*), but also with straight-bladed weapons of various lengths; and in the sequel it will be seen that there is reason for accepting the relic under review as a part of the equipment of a gladiator.

Of still higher interest and greater novelty is the tridentil implement shewn in fig. 2. It is about twelve inches in length, and, like the *pugio* or *culter*, is entirely of iron; and save a bend and slight crack at the base of the central prong, is in a very good state of preservation. This central prong is considerably taller than the two lateral ones, and has a spear-shaped cusp, whereas those on either side are simple quadrangular spikes. At a short distance below this tridentil head is a crescent-shaped bar with the points deflected. The socketed stem measures a full inch across the mouth, so that it would permit its being mounted on a stout wooden staff. Such is a brief description of the object, but what was its ancient name and purpose? It is certainly not a *tridens*, or sceptre, from the hand of a statue of Neptune; but something designed for actual use, requiring at

¹ It is curious to observe that in Skelton's *Meyrick* (pl. cxli) is an engraving of an "ancient Indian *kanjar* with a steel hilt," cleft, and spreading as in the above example.

once strength and careful finish. If intended for a fish-spear, far less pains would have been bestowed on it than have evidently been expended; and we seem reduced to one of two alternatives, viz., either to regard it as the head of a standard, or else as an unique example of the *fuscina*, or three-pronged fork, wherewith the class of gladiator called *retiarii*, or net-men, were armed in the arena. We shall presently find that there seems good ground to believe that the latter idea is the correct one.

The two remaining articles are both of terra-cotta, but of widely different fabrics. The largest (fig. 3) is a good specimen of a two-handled *cadus*, a vessel much employed in ancient times for holding wine, oil, honey, salted fish, dried fruits, etc. Its mouth was closed with a bung; and the taper body of the present example is annulated throughout its length, or what M. Brongniart designates *cercle*. Its pointed base is somewhat mutilated, but what remains of the jar exceeds twelve inches in height. At the time of discovery it was nearly filled with fine sand, the *happe*, in all probability, with which the *pancratiastæ*, or *athletæ*, engaged in the sport of *lucta*, or wrestling, sprinkled their bodies after being anointed with oil, in order, as Martial (vii, 67) tells us, that they might grasp their adversaries more firmly. In the Vatican Museum is a bas-relief representing two wrestlers, and near them a capsized basket of sand; but what is more to our purpose, was the discovery, in 1772, in the baths of Titus at Rome, of upwards of seventy earthen jars filled with the *happe* for the service of the *athletæ*. One of these vessels, a bulky two-eared *cadus*, twenty-three inches high, still containing the fine African sand, is preserved in the Townley collection in the British Museum.

Allusion has just been made to the practice of anointing the bodies of the *pancratiastæ* with oil; and the next and concluding item of this most extraordinary group of Roman remains is a beautiful *guttus*, a vessel employed as an oil-cruet on the table, and as a flask for the same lubricating fluid in the bath and other places. The example now submitted (fig. 4) has lost its mouth, but it still measures five inches and a quarter in height, so that when perfect it must have reached an altitude of nearly seven inches. It is of unusual elegance in design, the projecting decorations so sharp that they suggest the notion that they were produced

by a metal *forma*. The paste is a fine, compact clay, so highly fired that its blackish grey surface looks somewhat like tarnished silver. From all appearance this *guttus* was wrought in the great Durobrivian *kerameicus*, which certainly supplied the denizens of Londinium with some of their best *fictilia*.

That all the foregoing relics were exhumed together at the same time and place, is a fact beyond dispute; and as we have proceeded step by step in their examination, we seem to have accumulated evidence of their close connexion in purpose. We have what may fairly be presumed the *culter* of the *bestiarius*, the *fuscina* of the *retiarius*, the sand and oil vessels of the *pancratiastæ*, all pointing to the sports of the arena, and leaving no reasonable doubt on the mind that we have now before us the properties of a Roman *amphitheatrum*.

We know full well that mediæval castles rose on the ruins of Roman fortresses; that mediæval crafts were practised in districts previously occupied by Roman artificers, as, for instance, the ironworks of Sussex; and tradition tells us that St. Paul's Cathedral and the Abbey of St. Peter at Westminster mark the sites of heathen fanes. If, then, ancient strongholds, ancient factories, and ancient temples, influenced the choice of such spots for similar purposes in later ages, is there anything extravagant in the thought that these gladiatorial relics indicate that a place for public shows existed near the Bankside in Roman times, and led to the selection of this locality, in after days, as a fit neighbourhood for theatres and gardens, where the drama was performed to the refined, and dogs, bears, and horses, baited for the delight of spectators more brutish than the brutes that suffered for their pleasure?

The Samian ware embossed with gladiatorial combats, and exhibiting the prowess of the *bestiarius*, attest the popularity of such scenes among the Romanised Britons,—a popularity surely derived from the people having actually beheld the deeds set forth upon the costly cups and bowls which graced the festive board. Why, then, may not Roman Southwark have had its arena for public shows under the Cæsars as well as it had under the Tudors; and these precious monuments which we have been considering, represent the sports and pastimes which had amused the ancient Londoner?

ON SIR PHILIP SIDNEY AND HIS FATHER, SIR HENRY SIDNEY,

IN CONNEXION WITH LUDLOW CASTLE.

BY GEORGE R. WRIGHT, ESQ., F.S.A.

THE connexion of an illustrious family, such as was the house of Sidney, with any locality, whether by reason of their residence and rise within the place itself, or on account of some official duties especially relating to it, must ever be an object of deep interest to all who care to reflect upon the glorious deeds of former days, or love to dwell upon the career of those who have made their names known and honoured throughout the world, and for all time. For these reasons it is that I have determined to bring before you, in as concise a manner as I could, a few fragments from the history of a family so distinguished as that of the house of Sidney, and in a town so intimately connected with them as Ludlow once was, and to treat of some passages in the life of its most distinguished member, the renowned Sir Philip Sidney.

I need not, I feel sure, inform you that there is little or nothing new to be obtained concerning this illustrious Gentleman; for, indeed, that term seems singularly applicable to all his acts continued even to the day of his death; and therefore I must offer to you my apologies, if in my anxiety to bring before you some memories of so noble and worthy a knight, I tell but an "old, old tale." Still I am willing to believe that, for the honour of such an association as that of the great Sidney family with this time-honoured and most interesting town, you will excuse my giving you much that you have already known; and forgive me if now and then I draw a little upon imagination, in the absence of strict data, for bringing Sir Philip Sidney's name more closely than ever in alliance with the noble castle in which for many years his father lived, and where, doubtless, much of his children's time was passed; and with the natural beauties by which, in the times of "good Queen Bess," as in our own, it was surrounded, and with which a poetical and romantic mind like Sir Philip's must have been often moved.

The family of Sidney, as is well known, was derived from

an old French house, an early portion of it coming from Anjou with Henry Duke of Normandy and Anjou; for we read that before his accession to the throne as Henry II,¹ Duke Henry granted to one William de Sidne, "militi," the manor of Sutton, with the appurtenances, to him and his heirs in fee; and from this Sir William was derived the future family of Sidney, which by marriages became connected with the noblest and the greatest families in England, and even royalty itself. But I will not notice particularly any earlier portion of the family than that of Sir William Sidney, *temp.* Henry VIII, who was a person of great note in his time, and eldest son of Nicholas Sidney by Anne, daughter of Sir William Brandon, father of the Duke of Suffolk, who was himself descended from the king of Scotland. Sir Henry Sidney, the father of Sir Philip Sidney, was this Sir William's only surviving son, and from his infancy was bred and brought up with the young Prince Edward (afterwards Edward VI), who treated him with great familiarity, and made him his companion, so much so that they were oftentimes as boys together, even bed-fellows; Sir William Sidney, the father, having been appointed tutor and chamberlain, and afterwards steward, to the "most highest and famous prynce, King Edward the 6th," when he, Henry Sidney, was but a child.

Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the Garter, Lord Deputy of Ireland, and Lord President of Wales, married Lady Mary, eldest daughter of John Dudley, Viscount L'Isle, Baron Malpas and Someric, Lord Basset of Drayton and Tyesse, afterwards Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland (so created by Edward VI), whose fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley, became the husband of Lady Jane Grey.

Lady Jane Grey was the eldest daughter to Henry, Duke of Suffolk, by Frances, daughter to Mary, second sister to King Henry VIII; and thus through the interest of his brother, the above-named Duke of Northumberland, by this descent the succession to the crown of England was secured to her in a patent sealed by King Edward VI, excluding his two sisters, Mary and Elizabeth; and which subsequently led to this unfortunate lady and her husband's death, on the scaffold, where also perished the Duke of Northumberland, her illustrious parent.

¹ Sir William Sidney was knight and chamberlain to King Henry II

The descendants of Sir Henry Sidney were the Earls of Leicester of the name of Sidney; and the family seats of Penshurst Place, Kent; Leicester House, Westminster (on the site formerly known as Savile House, Leicester-square), with all estates thereto belonging, came to the family.¹

The Duchess of Northumberland had but a melancholy time of it, for after the death of her husband and fourth son, Lord Guilford Dudley, with her other sons under sentence of death, her house and furniture were seized, and everything that belonged to it, by order of Queen Mary, taken from the poor lady. When Mary married Philip of Spain, some of the miseries of the duchess were softened to her; for through Philip's intercession, he having known the family in happier days, her sons were pardoned, and in her will, written throughout in her own hand, she expresses her gratitude to him and to some Spanish noblemen also, who had pleaded for them. In this will she particularly refers to her daughter, Mary Sidney, wife of the before mentioned Sir Henry, in the following manner: "To my daughter, Mary Sidney, I bequeath 200 marks, and 200 marks to her little son; but if he chance to die, the money to go to his mother; and she chance to die, the money to go to her son; and if they both die, to go to her son Sidney, because, having no Council by me," she continues, "I think the law will give it to him." She further bequeaths to her daughter, Mary Sidney, her "gown of black hard velvet, fured with sables," etc., and a "gown with a high back, of fair wrought velvet." To her son (in law), Sir Henry Sidney, whom she appoints one of her executors, she leaves "the hangings of the gallery at Chelsea, that is gold and green, and with her lord's arms and hers; also a chair of green wrought velvet with a long cushion, and a foot carpet of Turkey work." She also wills to Mary Sidney her own "nag and her saddle of black wrought velvet, and her Clock again, she did so much set by, that was the lord her father's, praying her to keep it as a jewel; also her son Sidney to have his Clock again."

So great a regard had the young king Edward for Sir Henry Sidney, that he conferred many favours upon him; who for "his virtues, fine composition of body, gallantry, and kindness of spirit, was considered the most compleat young

¹ Robert Dudley, the great Earl of Leicester, was Lady Mary Sidney's brother.

gentleman in the court." In the fifth year of his reign, Sir Henry Sidney went, with the Marquis of Northampton, to the French king, Henry II, with the habit of the order of the garter, as one of the gentlemen of Edward's privy chamber; and on his return to England married, as before noticed, the Lady Mary Dudley, daughter of the unhappy Duchess of Northumberland, whose will we have just quoted from.

About this time the young king gave his newly married friend, several manors and estates in Kent and Wiltshire; and he would, doubtless, have enriched him still further, had he not died at Greenwich as suddenly as he did, and in Sir Henry's arms: thus there was an end, of course, to all such preferment. Overpowered with grief at the loss of so kind a patron and friend, Sir Henry retired to his house at Penshurst, where, in the quietude of that lovely spot, he remained, and was thus saved from the sad troubles which happened on the coming to the throne of Edward's sister, Mary, to his father-in-law, the Duke of Northumberland, and the other members of his wife's family, as has just been described. Here our hero, Sir Philip Sidney, was born on the 29th November, 1554, and was named Philip after the queen's husband, she having lately married Philip of Spain, and the family was honoured by his being godfather to the infant. Ben Jonson thus refers to the birth of Philip Sidney,—an acorn appearing to have been planted, or more probably a young tree, to commemorate the auspicious event. This tree was said to be standing some years ago, and used to be shewn to the visitors at Penshurst, as the "Bear's Oak,"—an allusion to one of the cognizances of the Sidney family, known as the "Bear and ragged staff,"

"Thou hast thy walks for health as well as sport,
Thy mount to which the Dryads do resort,
Where Pan and Bacchus their high feasts have made
Beneath the broad beech and the chestnut shade;
That taller tree, which of a nut was set
At His great birth, where all the Muses met."

Sir Henry Sidney was from this time taken into favour by Queen Mary, and all the various grants of her brother Edward to him were confirmed by her. An interesting confirmation of a previous grant of property to Sir Henry Sidney, related to a property in Middlesex, and was no less than the manor of "Tibourne," held at the time by an individual of

the name of Jaquett or Jacquette; from whom there is little doubt but that the popular name of "Jack Ketch," in miserable connexion with the executions for which Tyburn, now fashionable Tyburnia, became so celebrated, was derived.¹

Queen Mary conferred various offices on Sir Henry, finding him in every way worthy to fill them. Thus he was made vice-treasurer and general governor of all the king's and queen's revenues in the kingdom of Ireland, treasurer of the wars, and afterwards sole lord justice; the king and queen, so running the patent of appointment, having especial trust and confidence in the approved fidelity, wisdom, and discretion of their trusty and well beloved councillor, Sir Henry Sidney. It was, however, not till the second year of Queen Elizabeth's reign that Sir Henry's more important post as regards this town and neighbourhood was conferred upon him, when by royal warrant he was constituted Lord President of the Marches of Wales (1559-60); an office of high distinction, and similar in degree to that of viceroy of a county. Afterwards he went over to his government of Ireland, where, though he continued but a short time, yet by his prudent demeanour he obliged Shane O'Neil, who had disclaimed the English jurisdiction, to a submission to her majesty, and to continue quiet, till he resigned his office to the Earl of Sussex, who took on him the government the 30th August of the same year.

In the fifth year of Elizabeth's reign, Sir Henry desiring his discharge for all disbursements on account of his vice-treasurership and receiver-generalship of the revenues of Ireland, and treasurer of wars, the queen commissioned Thomas Earl of Sussex, Lord Deputy, Hugh, Archbishop of Dublin, Chancellor, and others, to examine into the state of his accounts, and on sufficient proof thereof, to discharge him, the said Sir Henry Sidney, his heirs and executors, against the queen, her heirs and successors.

In the same year the war of the Guises having broken out in France, the queen fearing that the English would be involved in it, and being informed that the Guises, to gain Anthony of Bourbon, king of Navarre, had promised

¹ In 1st and 2nd Philip and Mary, Sir Henry Sidney with a John Somerfield obtained a grant of the third part of the manor of Hales Owen in co. Salop; and this probably brought the family at first into the county of which the paper is a slight historical memorial.



to procure him in marriage the Queen of Scots, with the kingdom of England for her portion, and also that through the help of Spain, and interposition of the Pope, the then marriage of the king of Navarre should be dissolved, his wife being a heretic, for which cause also Queen Elizabeth should be dispossessed of her throne. Whereupon, as Camden writes (see *History of England*, vol. ii, p. 317), "she dispatched to France Sir Henry Sidney, a person of approved abilities and great reputation, to fathom this business, and persuade the heads of each party to an accommodation. But things were now gone too far to admit of any remedy; therefore Sydney returning out of France, he was immediately sent to the Queen of Scots to adjourn the interview which she had desired with the Queen of England till the ensuing year, or till the wars of France were ended."

In the same year Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (whose sister Sir Henry had married), being elected one of the knights of the garter, the queen commissioned the Duke of Norfolk, her lieutenant, to install Sir Henry Sidney in his place, the earl being beyond the seas on the queen's affairs, as the commission sets forth; and that her majesty, by her special license, had appointed Sir Henry Sidney to be his deputy, and accordingly he was installed with great magnificence; Ashmole, in his history of the order of the garter, observing "that the mantle was borne before him by the Garter (king-at-arms) in the same manner as is used to knights personally installed; and that he also proceeded before 'the alms knights,' the only instance he had met with when a Proxy was installed." The next year Sir Henry was himself elected a knight of that most noble order, with Charles IX, the French king, and the Earl of Bedford, and was installed with them on 14th May, 1564. His plate exists in the eighth stall of St. George's Chapel, Windsor, wherein he is styled "the thrice valiant Knight, Deputy of the realm of Ireland, and President of the Council in Wales, 1564."

On the 13th Oct. in the 7th Eliz., Sidney still retaining his place as Lord President of Wales, he was again constituted Lord Deputy of Ireland, with power to confer all offices in that kingdom, except the offices of chancellor, treasurer, sub-treasurer, chief justice of the bench, chief baron of the exchequer, and master of rolls; and to present to all

ecclesiastical benefices, viz., vicarages, parsonages, prebends, chancellors, deans, and all other dignities whatsoever, except archbishops and bishops. On the 13th January following he landed at Dublin, and was received with great joy, as is related by Hooker, "being a person whose excellent government that kingdom had long experienced. When he received the sword, he made an eloquent speech setting forth what a precious thing good government is, and how all realms, commonwealths, cities, and countries, do flourish and prosper where it is maintained."

Among other useful things Sir Henry did, or caused to be done, we as Archæologists must applaud most, the following very praiseworthy, and for the time in which he lived, advanced act of duty and regard, for those who were to come after him. "Having found the records of the kingdom in an open place, subject to wind, rain, and all weather, and so neglected that they were taken for common uses, wherefore with great care and diligence he caused them to be perused and sorted, and placed within the Castle of Dublin, in a room well boarded, with a chimney for a fire, so that neither by the moisture of the walls or any other means they could receive prejudice. And several divisions were made for laying them separate; and one of discretion and skill appointed to look after them, with an assignment for his labour." He also caused the statutes and ordinances of the realm, which lay hid, and hardly known, but yet kept in safety, to be searched, surveyed, and viewed by men of the best learning, skill, and discretion he could select, giving them express charge to peruse all, and collect so many thereof as they should think necessary and expedient to be made public, and the which being perused, he caused them to be printed, that every one might know the laws and the statutes of his country, and obey them. A saying of his, that "Science was to be honoured in whomsoever it was to be found," shews clearly enough the bent of the man's mind, and from it we can learn at once the nature of his character.

It was the glory of Elizabeth's reign that she had the wisdom to distinguish and employ persons of eminent abilities, integrity, and honour; and there cannot be a greater instance of it than in her choice of Sir Henry Sidney, whose letters to her majesty, to her council, the great Cecil, Walsingham, and others of her ministry, shew how true a judg-

ment he made of men and all affairs under his cognizance. He was four several times Lord Justice of Ireland, and three times, by special commission, sent Lord Deputy out of England. He also held, with the above office, that of Lord President of the Marches of Wales; and these chief offices never before or since have been held together. In short, he was a man for the time he lived in; and no doubt by his zeal, courage, and ability, set that example before his son, Sir Philip, which proved to him in future years the great cause of his high and exalted character. Sir Henry highly favoured all men of letters and science; and he never in public assemblies, consultations, field, or feast, omitted anything that appertained to his office or honour.

His office of Lord President of the Council established in the Marches of Wales brought him into close connexion with this part of the world; and his residence at Ludlow Castle, then the principal stronghold between England and Wales, must have had an useful as well as elevating influence over the people of the place in which so distinguished a gentleman resided. An extract from a letter in the ninth year of Elizabeth (1566) written to his son, Sir Philip Sidney, then a boy of twelve years of age, at school at Shrewsbury, so justly celebrated for turning out great men and scholars, who was evidently in the habit of writing to his father at Ludlow, will shew at a glance what kind of influence that would be, and serve as an example to parents generally how to encourage and advise their children when away from their custody or care :

“I have received two letters from you, one written in Latine, the other in French, which I take in good part, and will (wish) you to exercise that practise of learning often; for that will stand you in most stead in that profession of life that you are born to live in. And since this is my first letter that ever I did write to you, I will not that it be all empty of some advices, which my natural care of you provoketh me to wish you to follow, as documents to you in this your tender age.

“Let your first action be the lifting up your mind to Almighty God by hearty prayer, and feelingly digest the words you speak in prayer, with continual meditation and thinking of him to whom you pray, and of the matter for which you pray.....Be humble and obedient to your master, for unless you frame yourself to obey others, yea, and feel in yourself what obedience is, you will never be able to teach others how to obey you.....Well (my little Philippe) this is enough for me, and too much I fear for you.

“Your loving father so long as you live in the fear of God,

“H. SYDNEY.”

This charming letter was probably, though undated, written from Ludlow Castle.

Sir Henry Sidney died at the Castle of Ludlow on the 5th May, 1586, aged fifty-seven years, wanting a month and fifteen days. The queen being certified thereof, ordered Sir William de Kirk, garter king of arms, to prepare all things appertaining to his office for his funeral. Accordingly Garter and the other heralds coming to Worcester, ordered the corpse, robed with velvet, to be brought from Ludlow, which was solemnly conveyed into the cathedral church at Worcester, and there placed; and after a sermon preached by one of his chaplains, the corpse was conveyed into a chariot covered with velvet, hung with escutcheons of his arms, etc.; and being accompanied with "Mr. Garter" and the other heralds, with the principal domestics of the deceased, and officers of the court of Ludlow, they proceeded on their journey to London, and from thence to Penshurst, where, on Tuesday, 21 June, 1586, he was interred in the chancel of the church of that place, attended from his house by a noble train of lords, knights, gentlemen, and ladies, something like six weeks after his death, giving us a slight idea of the length of time consumed in those days in journeying from Ludlow to the metropolis, albeit this was a solemn and grand occasion.

He had issue by his marriage with the Lady Mary Dudley, who was, as has been before remarked, not only of great descent, but by nature of a large ingenuous spirit (and who survived him a very short time, dying in the August following, and buried with him at Penshurst, Kent, in 1586), three sons, Sir Philip, Sir Robert, and Sir Thomas Sidney; and four daughters, whereof the eldest died an infant: as did Margaret, the second daughter, who lies buried at Penshurst. Another of his daughters lived to near the age of twenty, but died unmarried. She lies buried in the chancel of the collegiate parish church of this good town of Ludlow, where the following inscription to her memory, on a handsome monument on the right hand side of the altar, may be seen to this day: "Heere lyethe the bodye of Ambrozia Sydney, 4th daughter of the Righte Honorable Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lord President of the Counsell of Wales, &c.: and of the Lady Mary his wief, daughter of the ffamous Duke of Northumberland. Who died in Ludlow Castell the 22nd Februarii, 1574."

The only surviving daughter was Mary, married to Henry Earl of Pembroke, from whom the late lamented statesman, Sidney, Lord Herbert, whose son is now Earl of Pembroke, was descended. Robert Dudley, the great or wicked Earl of Leicester, as the case may be, her uncle, made the match for her, and paid part of her dower, which her father, Sir Henry, acknowledged as a favour to him by his letter from Dundalk in Ireland, dated 4th Feb. 1576. This lady was very accomplished, and composed, with her brother Philip, several of the Psalms in verse. She also translated several discourses and essays from the French. She lived to an advanced age, and died at her house in Aldersgate-street, London, the 25th Sept. 1621, and was buried in the chancel of Salisbury Cathedral. The famous epitaph given below was made for her, but by whom is uncertain :

“Underneath this sable Herse
Lyes the subject of all Verse,
Sydney’s sister, Pembroke’s Mother.
Death ! ere thou hast killed another
Faire and learn’d and good as she,
Tyme shall throw a Dart at thee.

“Marble pyles let no man rayse
To her Name for after Daies :
Some kinde Woman, borne as she,
Reading this, like Niobé,
Shall turn Marble, and become
Both her Mourner and her Tombe.”

It was during the time of Sir Henry’s presidency that many important additions were made to the Castle of Ludlow ; and here, no doubt, he often resided in great pomp and splendour. The young Philip was consequently a frequent indweller of the Castle ; and the woods and hills around must have often been the scene of many a hunting or hawking excursion, in which he with his noble brothers and sisters shared. In Mr. Thos. Wright’s *Ludlow Sketches* he ventures thus to speculate on other proceedings likely to have taken place, and which, from the circumstances of Sir Henry’s high estate and office, there can be little doubt did happen : “Sir Philip Sidney, the *preux chevalier* of his age, the poet, and lover of letters and of men of letters, who was, no doubt, a frequent resident in Ludlow Castle, and probably there collected at times around him the Spensers and the Raleighs, and the other literary stars of his day.”

As we have so recently been over the Castle, and had all its features so ably described to us by Mr. T. Wright, I will only say here, that the stone bridge which supplies the place of a drawbridge, is apparently of Sir Henry Sidney's time, and the great portal also, of the same date. Over the archway, on a small stone tablet, are these words :

“Hominibus injustis loquimini
Lapides an^o regni Reginae
Elizabethæ, the 22nd year.
(Coplet by Sir Henry Sidney, etc.)”

This allusion to the ingratitude of man, seems very curious, and must refer to some great disappointment Sir Henry met with at this time. I shall not attempt now to unravel the mystery, but leave it to other and abler hands to find out. The mere fact that much of the work he did in the Castle, at great expense to himself, and which the government ought to have paid for, but did not, I cannot believe to be, as some have surmised, the cause of this complaint on the Castle wall.

Sir Philip's career is so well known that I shall not venture to do more than to glance at it, merely recalling to your memories that after school he went to Christ Church, Oxford, where he continued until he was seventeen years of age. In 1572 he commenced his travels with the view of attaining a full knowledge of foreign languages. During his peregrinations, Lord Brook, his friend and companion, and to whom we are indebted for much that we know about him, says “that though so young he gained reverence among the chief learned men abroad;” and that Charles IX was so taken with him that he made him one of the gentlemen of his chamber. Young Philip was in Paris on the memorable night of the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, and took shelter from that dreadful carnage in the house of Sir Francis Walsingham, Queen Elizabeth's ambassador. Here he met with, and probably for the first time, the fair Frances, the youngest daughter of his host, who was destined to become his wife in after years.

By the desire of the queen, who seems to have taken great interest in him (as, indeed, Elizabeth did as a rule with all the handsome young noblemen and gentlemen of her court), the Earl of Leicester, his uncle by marriage, wrote for him to come to England, and there is reason to believe he returned

immediately. How he afterwards travelled, and lived in Germany, winning the esteem of all he met; how the crown of Poland was offered to him, and the queen would not allow him to accept it; and how he projected a journey to America, and was again prevented carrying out the expedition, I need not further dwell upon; but at once refer to the noble poetry he has left behind him in the sonnets he wrote, and the well-known poem of *Arcadia*, written at Wilton, and dedicated to his sister, the Countess of Pembroke, whose elegant epitaph we have given already. The sonnets were written at a time when it is to be presumed he first fell in love, but at what exact time that was, there is no real evidence to show. Penelope Devereux, the daughter of the first Earl of Essex, Walter Devereux, who even on his deathbed desired that his "friend Sir Philip," would marry his child, writing thus of the object at his heart: "O, that good gentleman! Have me commended unto him, and tell him I send him nothing but I wish him well; and so well, that if God so move both their hearts, I wish that he might match with my daughter. I call him son: he is wise, virtuous, and godly; and if he go on in the course he hath begun, he will be as famous and worthy a gentleman as ever England bred," was, doubtless, the young Philip's choice; but circumstances over which he had no control kept them apart, and he died, as we all know, married to another. Philip married Frances Walsingham, in 1583, and of course, to a certain extent, annoyed Elizabeth, as well as, no doubt, other ladies of the court, who had, to use an old and well-known saying, "set their caps" at the young and noble knight. But Philip did not marry until after his presumed first love, Penelope Devereux,—some say by compulsion, some by choice,—married Robert Rich, third Lord Rich, who succeeded to that title in 1581; and as far as can be made out by his subsequent poetry, Philip never ceased to remember, if not love, his fair Stella, for under that name he evidently referred constantly to her in his beautiful sonnets entitled "Astrophel and Stella." An example of this habit of his may be found in the following extract from that beautiful work; and as there is evidence in the lines that the lovely sylvan scenery of the neighbourhood of his father's official residence had impressed the young poet with all the imagery he knew so well how to depict, as did another later writer, and yet more celebrated

poet, whose *Masque of Comus*, written and performed at Ludlow Castle, has been so agreeably commented upon by Mr. Dillon Croker (see *ante*, pp. 44-51), I trust I shall be pardoned for giving them in illustration of this part of my paper, although they have often been quoted before :

“In a grove most rich of shade,
Where birds wanton music made,
May—then young—his pied weeds showing,
New perfumed with flowers fresh growing ;

Astrophel with Stella sweet
Did for mutual comfort meet ;
Both within themselves oppressed,
But each in the other blest.”

In the thirty-seventh sonnet, the young poet, who has lost his first love,—and let us hope he had not yet married his second,—thus boldly leaves out Stella, and punningly tells us who she was :

“My mouth doth water, and my breast doth swell ;
My tongue doth itch, my thoughts in labour be :
Listen, thou Lordings, with good ear to me ;
For of my life I must a riddle tell.
Toward Aurora’s court a nymph doth dwell
Rich in all beauties which man’s eye can see :
Beauties so far from reach of words that we
Abuse her praise, saying she doth excel :
Rich in the treasure of deserved renown,
Rich in the riches of a royal heart,
Rich in those gifts which give the eternal crown ;
Who, though most rich in these and every part
Which makes the patents of true worldly bliss,
Hath no misfortune but that RICH she is.”

That, however, Frances and Philip were a happy couple there can be little doubt ; and that she was a true and devoted wife, we know from the fact of her having followed her husband to the Netherlands in the end of June or beginning of July, and that she was with him when he died ; for the Earl of Leicester writes thus to Sir Francis Walsingham from Utrecht, 25 Oct. 1586 : “Your sorrowful daughter and mine is here with me at Utrecht till she may recover some strength, for she is wonderfully overthrown through her long care since the beginning of her husband’s hurt ; and I am the more careful that she should be in some strength ere she take her journey into England, for that she is with child ; which I pray God send to prove a son, if it be his will. But

whether son or daughter, they shall be my children too. She is most earnest to be gone out of this country; and so I could wish her, seeing it is against her mind, but for her weakness yet, her case considered."

Lady Sidney had already had a daughter; but no living child was born afterwards: indeed, on her return to England she was long very ill, and her life despaired of; no doubt brought on by the anxieties and troubles she had gone through. For four years Lady Sidney remained a widow, and then she married the unfortunate Earl of Essex, who thus again offending Queen Elizabeth, and this time mortally, ultimately perished on the scaffold, the queen never really in her heart forgiving her once great favourite's desertion. Lady Essex and Penelope Devereux, or rather Penelope Rich, were now sisters; the first love and the second love, thus coming strangely together by the mysterious hands of Cupid and of Hymen,—a romance of real life, such as would have been thought improbable, if invented by the imagination of any ancient or modern writer; so true is it, after all, that Truth is stranger than Fiction!

Upon Sidney's melancholy fate, and of his early death, I need not here descant; the story of his being wounded at Zutphen, and his behaviour on the field of battle, being familiar as "household words." He died at Arnheim, to which village or town he was taken in his barge, and attended by the best "chirurgeons" of the day. But all was in vain; for after the wearying and tedious passage of some sixteen days, mortification of his wound set in; and amidst the tears and lamentations of his wife and brother, Sir Philip Sidney breathed his last as quietly and peacefully as he had lived; calling for music at the last moment, and dying with the sounds of a song he is said to have written himself, entitled "*La Caisse Rompue*," in his ears.¹ Thus died the flower of

¹ Sidney's calling for music on his deathbed may have been brought to his mind, not only from the love of it, but from the melancholy manner in which his father's true friend, the Earl of Essex, who wished his daughter to marry Sidney, acted when he was dying, strongly suspecting himself poisoned by the Earl of Leicester. The story goes thus: "The night following, the Friday night, which was the night before he died, he called William Hewes, which was his musician, to play upon the virginals and sing. 'Play,' said he, 'my song, Will Hewes, and I will sing it myself.' So he did it most joyfully, not as the howling swan, which still looking down waileth her end, but as a sweet lark, lifting up his hands and casting up his eyes to his God; with this mounted the crystal skies, and reached with his unwearied tongue the top of the highest heaven."

English knighthood in the first bloom of his manhood, and when all things seem to have combined to make him one of the happiest and most successful of men. History is said to repeat itself; and in the destruction of cities, the overthrow of monarchies, and the disruption of races, this assertion may be correct; but in the production of such noble and true-hearted men as Sir Philip Sidney, there seems indeed a pause; for neither in earlier nor later epochs can we find his parallel; and as the world seems at present constituted, we are likely to seek for one in vain.

ON THE ANCIENT COMPANY OF STITCHMEN OF LUDLOW:

THEIR ACCOUNT-BOOK AND MONEY-BOX.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

THE money-box exhibited on the 27 May last (see p. 274 *ante*) was amongst the articles placed in the Museum at Ludlow during the Congress held by this Association at Ludlow last year. Its resemblance to the two ancient money-boxes from Harbledown, near Canterbury, and from Neen Sollers in Shropshire, figured in our *Journal* (vol. xxiii, p. 105), gives a special interest to it, and led me to request that it might be produced in London,—a request which was promptly complied with by its present custodian, Mr. Richard Jones of Ludlow. The Ludlow example acquires additional interest from its accessory, the Minute and Account-book of the Company of Stitchmen, preserved in the hands of the same custodian, and forwarded with it.

I proceed to describe first the book and then the money-box, and to develope, in so doing, some account of the brotherhood.

The book begins with a history of its own origin in 1669, and then sets forth some facts respecting a previous account-book of the Company which dated back as far as 1563. It shews that the rules or “composition” of the society were remodelled in 1569, and again in 1579. The statement is thus:

“THIS BOOKE was made ye xxth day of August in the xxjth yeare of the Raigne of o^r Sovereigne Lord Charles the Second by the grace of

God of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland Kinge, defender of the Apostolicall Protestant and true Faith, of the Holly Gospell of Jesus Christ. AND in the yeare of o^r Lord God 1669.

"In the yeare whearein		{	Weare BAYLIFFS of the Auntient Corporacion of the TOWNE of LUDLOWE	
Samuel Weaver and Tamberlayn Davies				
Richard Wilde	{	Aldermen of the s ^d Towne	{	SIXMEN of the Fellowship and Brotherhood of Tay- lors, Mercers, Draps, Cap- ers, Hatters, Glovers, & Skyners.
Edward Durford				
Samuel Weaver				
Edward Robinson one of the 25 masters				
Robert Bond and				
William Adams		Taylers		
John Lewis, Tayler and		{	STUARTS."	
John Actonfurd then				

On the same page is continued an equally formal recital, from which it appears that "the last former booke belonging to this Companie" was begun May the 16th, 1563, in Queen Elizabeth's time; and that in 1569 "the said Companie renewed their composission," according to an act of Parliament of the 25th January of the nineteenth year of Henry VII; and the "composission" was sealed by Sir Edward Saunders, Knt., Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer, and Thomas Carns, Justice of the Common Pleas, and by the bailiffs of Ludlow; and further, in the year 1579 an addition was made to the "composission," and the whole confirmed and subscribed by Sir Henry Sidney, Lord President of Wales and the Marches; Sir Henry Townshend, described as bailiff and recorder of Ludlow; and by the Chief Justice of Chester, and the rest of the justices, S. Bromley, Charles Fox, and E. Walter.

Then follows the charge to be given to every member on admission to the brotherhood, and a code of rules, twenty-nine in number, from which the nature and objects of the brotherhood, a trade-union or protection-society, may be very clearly apprehended:

The form of taking the charge by a new member is to take the Six-men and the stewards by the hand, and to promise "by your Fayth and Truth" to observe and keep their orders, to be true to the sovereign and to the fellowship; and this, it appears by the last rule, was in fact an oath sworn on the Gospels, and administered by the officers.

According to the rules (1) Election-day is to be held yearly, on the Saturday following the day of the Invention of the Holy Cross (3rd of May), and every member is to attend upon pain of a fine of twelve pence in default. The meetings, though held yearly, as thus appointed, elected their officers only every alternate year, the term of office being two years (rule 4). And further (rule 18), every member is to attend at quarter-days when summoned, he is to be summoned for election-days, and even at other times is liable to be summoned, and every default is visited by a fine of twelve pence.

The officers of the association are the Six-men and the two Stewards. The Six-men, chosen by election, are to be two tailors, two mercers or

drapers, and two of either of the other associated trades (rule 4). These are to appoint the two stewards, one of whom is always to be a tailor (rule 5). The Six-men are to govern the Company, and to determine all questions against the members as to trade, or offences against the rules (6); to impose payments of scot and lot (3); but no rules or decrees are to be enforced which are "repugnant to the comon lawes of this realme, or to the hurt of the Libertise and comonwelth of this guide towne of Ludlowe" (22).

The Stewards are the executive of the society, under orders of the Six-men, "as by the composition" is appointed, and a member refusing to take the office is liable to a penalty of twenty shillings (rule 2). The Stewards are to issue summonses for the meetings (18), levy and collect (23) or distrain for (24) forfeitures and penalties, or sue for them before the bailiffs of Ludlowe (24); and duly to account for (26) and pay over the same to the Six-men, to the use of the brotherhood on election-day, yearly (23); and are at no time to make any payment or disbursement without the consent of the Six-men.

It appears (25) that the use the brotherhood had in these payments was for the relief of poor members; or when the king should require it, the fund was to be applied "towards furnishing of souldiers for the kings majestys warres,"—a requirement only once made in the record, viz. in 1689, when fifty shillings were paid for "the defence of the Council of the Marches of Wales." Almost every fee paid, as will be seen below, had an odd eight-pence. These odd pence were always "spent," it may be shrewdly guessed, on refreshment.

Freemen were to be admitted (14) only on the annual election-day and on All Saints Day (1st November). No man to be admitted a freeman or member except by a majority of the masters freemen of his own trade (8). Every freeman must have served seven years' apprenticeship in a city or corporate town, must be of good repute, and one that "can skill right well in the trade wheareof desire is made to be free" (8); and none shall use any other trade than the one to which he is admitted, under the penalty appointed by the act, 5th Queen Elizabeth, and such fine as the Six-men may impose (9 and 11). Those who had served an apprenticeship in Ludlow were to pay, on admission as freemen, tailors, cappers, hatters, gloves, and skimmers, 10s. 8d.; mercers and drapers, 20s. 8d. But if they had not served their time in Ludlow, they were deemed "foreigners," and had to pay much larger fees, viz., tailors, 46s. 8d.; cappers, hatters, gloves, and skimmers, 40s. 8d.; mercers and drapers, 66s. 8d. (10). Freemen failing to pay scot and lot, as appointed by the Six-men, are liable to a fine of 10s. (3), and were not to commence a lawsuit against any of the brotherhood without first submitting the cause to the Six-men and Stewards, who should either decide the cause or grant licence for it to be taken before the bailiffs of Ludlow (7). A breach of the rule entailed a fine of 6s. 8d. Tailors or skimmers only shall measure or cut garments (19), and these two trades shall not infringe upon each other's work (20). No master shall have above two shops (27); and no shops shall be let to any journeyman but "at daie or weeklie work, hire, or garment wages" (28); and lastly, it is enjoined on every member that he (21) "shall not at any time or times of assemblie hereafter revile or despise or use any worde of envie, obprobrie or despite against anie other of the bretheren of the same Fellowship and brotherhood, or else unreverentlie,

uncomlie or unhoneſtliſſe talke, revile or behave yourſelf before the Six-men and Stewards, or againſt any of them for the time beinge, upon paine of three ſhillings and four pence for everie offence."

Apprentices (12) muſt be ſons of freemen of the town of Ludlow, or of ſome other city or corporation. They muſt be twenty-four years of age at the end of their term of ſervice, and this term muſt not be leſſe than ſeven years; and as they muſt be bound within three months "of entertaynment" (13), they muſt probably always have been nearly ſeventeen years of age at the beginning. All apprentices were to be received before the Six-men and Sewards, and their indentures enrolled and regiſtered by them within fifteen days.

As to thoſe not of this ſociety, none could, without licence of the brotherhood, follow any of its trades in Ludlow, under pain of 40s. per month fine (11). No other man's ſervant could be employed by thoſe of the brotherhood without licence of the ſociety,—fine, 10s. (15); and no foreigner belonging to the associated trades could work in any houſe in the town except a freeman's (16). Any "burgess, chencer, or reſiant" of the town is prohibited from employing any but freemen of the ſociety,—fine, 10s. No foreigner ſhall work as chief or maſter without conſent of the whole company (28).

Although the book was begun in 1669, the earlieſt minute of the ſociety's proceedings contained in it is of 7th of Feb. 1679, one of their quarter-days. We find there a liſt of members including the Six-men and Stewards and fifty-ſeven others. All theſe members then met in St. John's chancel, "beinge the uſuall place of meetinge," in the church of St. Lawrence at Ludlow. They admitted a feltmaker and a tailor freeman, delivered two bonds into the cuſtody of the ſteward, ordered the ſtewards to preſent one name for unlawfully exerciſing the trade of a tailor, not having ſerved an apprenticeship of ſeven years. Except that no members were fined for abſence, this may be taken as a ſpecimen of the buſineſs conducted on the quarter-days for very long after. The firſt election-day recorded is May 8th, 1680; but it is the alternate year in which no election takes place. The laſt election-day recorded is May 13, 1862, with the minutes of which day's proceedings the book terminates, and the ſociety is now in abeyance.. The book was inſpected at intervals of from two to ten years, and the inſpection certified by the ſignature of an officer, whoſe examination, apparently, had reference originally to ſtamps payable to Government on the enrolment of members; a one-ſhilling ſtamp being uſed for each member before 1698, and a two-ſhilling ſtamp afterwards. The laſt inſpection was in 1856.

From the book a hiſtory of the operation of the ſociety, and of its decay, may be drawn. Beſides the tailors, mer-

cers, drapers, cappers, hatters, glovers, and skimmers, named in the composition, other trades were admitted to the fellowship. Feltmakers, called in two instances feltmakers or hatters, were frequently admitted between 1679 and 1763. Also, evidently as allied to the hatters, we have in 1680 a haberdasher; and in 1723, a "haberdasher of hatts." A boddice-maker, stay-makers, and women mantua-makers, as allies of the tailors, were also admitted, in nine instances, from 1681 to 1758. The boddice-maker admitted in 1681 figures as a tailor and Six-man in 1694. Stationers were admitted as allies of the skimmers and furriers, and exercise usually as well the trades of either skimmer, furrier, book-binder or bookseller; seven instances occur from 1681 to 1786.

It was not often that interlopers attempted to trade in Ludlow against the rules of the brotherhood; and usually the attempts to do so ended in their being mulcted in a fine, and being then admitted on duly conforming.

The united trades are first termed "Stitchmen" in 1710, after which this convenient and expressive name soon becomes the common designation for the brotherhood. Its operation as a trade-society continued in full force till 1750. The next few years shew a rapid decline in its trade influence; the attendances in "the usual place of meeting," St. John's chancel in the parish church of St. Lawrence, Ludlow, become very small, and the stimulating effect of social dinners at different hostelries in the town is brought to bear to improve the attendances. The list of apprentices entered ceases in 1754. The quarterly meetings are neglected, and soon there is only one meeting in the year, and after 1769 they never meet at the church. Fines and fees are reduced, to entice new members; but also the funds are diverted from trade purposes, and used to furnish forth the dinners; until, under this system of burning the candle at both ends, in 1783 the Stitchmen possessed only *ten shillings*. At the beginning of the present century it was simply a society of "good fellows," and those, apparently, of quite the humblest class of tradesmen. In 1801 the quarterly meetings were formally abolished, and two half yearly meetings allowed. From 1795 it was recognised as the duty of the Stewards to pay a guinea towards the dinner. After 1803 one Steward only was appointed by the Six-men. A revival now took place. The better tradesmen and professional men joined

the brotherhood; but the imposition of the fine on the Steward made the selection, now become annual, a somewhat delicate matter; so that a wag likened the process to drawing a radish, and the election-day came to be written down "the radish meeting." In 1833 Lord Clive was Steward. At this time it was customary for the gentry of the district to be admitted to the brotherhood; and so with a flicker of prosperity it held on till 1862, since which no meeting nor election has been held.

The "great box" and the "little box" are mentioned so frequently in the minute-book that I shall not attempt to recount the instances. The rules at the beginning of the book speak of only one box. Rule 14 appoints that a certain fine of 40s. shall be paid, one half to the bailiffs of Ludlow, the other half "to the comon box or treasure of this saide brotherhood." Rule 26 directs the Stewards that on the election-day, on the Saturday after the Invention of the Cross (*i. e.*, after May 3rd), they shall, at the end of their time, "true accoumpt and payment make to the hands of the Six-men of all that then shall remaine in your hands, to bee pre-searved in the comon box or treasurie." The "true accoumpt" was to be the special business of the Stewards on this day, for the next preceding rule had provided that all forfeitures should be paid over by the Stewards to the Six-men as soon as levied.

I believe the box exhibited to be the "comon box or treasurie" referred to in these rules written in 1669; but its age, I have no doubt, is fully a hundred years greater. In its make and appearance it quite agrees with the Harbledown box, which is as old as the reign of Henry VIII. If we bear in mind that the rules of 1669 were a mere transcription of rules that had been settled in 1579, and had previously, in 1569, been revised from a still older form, I think it is almost conclusive, from the evidence of the minute-book and from the appearance of the box, that it was the "treasury" when the oldest set of rules referred to were in existence.

The custody of the "comon box" is left by the rules with the Six-men, and the custom was for them to appoint key-keepers biennially. But there was also in existence another box which had its key-keepers; and although the second box is not mentioned in the rules, yet in the minutes "the



great box" and "the little box" regularly appear down to the period when the trade operation of the society came to be neglected in the middle of the last century. In the best times three key-keepers were generally appointed to each box; but even then very often two, or only one, were deemed sufficient. A box-keeper was appointed, who, it is presumed, had the care of both boxes. Some entries in the minutes shew that one of the boxes was used for the preservation of indentures and bonds, and this was the great box; for in 1722, 1723, and 1725, the ordinary annual examination of the contents of the money-box distinctly designates it "the little box." After 1760 we lose sight of the great box altogether in the minutes; and as the register of indentures had then ceased for six years, and the decay of the society made the papers kept in the box valueless, it is probable that the great box itself was disused and lost sight of about this time. One box still continued in use as a money-box, with sometimes one and sometimes two key-keepers; and the box was generally in the custody of the host of the inn patronised by the society with its dinners. The last key-keeper was appointed in 1846. Mr. Richard Jones, who exhibits the box and book to us, was himself admitted to the society in 1825, and was key-keeper in 1832. Thus the history of the money-box of the Stitchmen of Ludlow is traced from the time of Henry VIII to the present day.

The box (Plate 20) is made from the wood of the ash tree, and bound with iron. The wood was a solid block, and has been merely rounded and hollowed out. Except the twist to the iron in the chain, there is no attempt at ornamental design in the ironwork. The lid of the box is hinged; and there are three locks, a padlock between two hasp-locks. The padlock is not in existence, but only its appurtenances attached to the box. The peculiarity of this box is that though its lid is scooped out on the top, outside, to a deep cup-shape, there is not, and never was, a money-slit in it. The money could only be put in by opening the box. The box is six inches and a half diameter at the largest, outside; seven inches and three-eighths high, up to the lid; and ten inches and a quarter high, including the lid. The inside is hollowed out to six inches deep, and about five inches diameter. The cup in the top of the lid, outside, is one inch deep.

We have seen that the Stitchmen held their business meetings in St. John's chancel, in the parish church, down to 1769. They also occupied the same part of the church for the ordinary divine services; and the hearing of a sermon, for which they paid 5s., was a part of the business at one meeting annually.

In 1686 it was ordered that no one should sit in the uppermost seats under the gallery (the gallery was on the north side), except those who had served the office of steward; the other three seats to be allotted to freemen. Subsequently orders continue to be made for the use, custody, construction, and reconstruction, of the "pews or seats." In 1716 a rent (of 12*d.* per ann.) is first imposed on every occupant not having served the office of steward. In 1780 the Stewards paid £4:18:6 for a faculty: the authority granted by it is not stated. It does not appear from the accounts that the rent imposed in 1716 realised anything; but in 1813 the Stitchmen had become more hungry and less scrupulous, and succeeded in letting one of their pews at £3 per ann., which they resolved "should be applied to pay for the freeman's dinner." Soon after two other pews were let, and the like appropriation of the proceeds was made. The letting now proved so profitable that from 1813 to 1858 it contributed £212:1:6 to the dinners. In opposition to this selfish appropriation, it is only fair to the Stitchmen to mention their better deeds towards the church. In 1692 the Stewards were ordered to expend £3 towards buying two bells for the church, the same "to bee tuneable when up, or else the Stewards to keepe the money in their hands"; and in 1732 they gave £5:5 towards the bells then to be made by Abraham Ruddall of Gloucester. It is pointedly recorded that this order was made *nemine contradicente*,—a desirable harmony, the absence of which appears to have been painfully felt on other occasions; for at the previous quarterly meeting it had been ordered that the article 21 of the Composition, against reviling, should be read at every meeting. To exhaust the public benefactions of the body, I may notice their contribution, in 1681-2, of 60s. "towards y^e buyinge of an engine ag'st flier"; and their laudable exertions in 1713, and for many years after, in support of "the charity schole lately propagated within this towne."

ON THE IRONWORKS OF SUSSEX.

BY J. C. SAVERY, ESQ.

HAVING undertaken to prepare a short account of the ironworks of Sussex, I turned to that valuable work, the *Collections of the Sussex Archæological Society*, in the hope of seeing something suited to my purpose; and there, in the second volume, I found a paper by M. A. Lower, Esq., which treats the subject in so exhaustive a manner, that although I have examined every other volume of the *Collections*, I have obtained but little more information than that which he had so industriously compiled. My principal task, therefore, has been to endeavour to bring together the various materials which I have found, in a collected form, so as to give, as far as I can, a history of such remains as are to be found scattered here and there throughout the wilds of our county.

And I would observe first, that the state of Sussex in the early period of our history was very different to what now exists. We may, I think, assume that it was almost covered by wood. I doubt much whether even the chalk downs did not at one time present a far more wooded appearance than they do now; for the North Downs of Kent are much encroached on by woods, where no local cause has tended to their destruction. Be this as it may, there was at all events the great forest of Anderida, which, sparingly traversed by roads, existed over a very large portion of the country, and by its protective influence caused numerous rapid brooks, converging into large and important rivers, to traverse the valleys of the district, and furnished, to a great extent, the highways of the period. Here were two necessities for the spread of a native industry. The iron-stone beneath the feet, and cropping out at many points, furnished the wanting link, which has changed the entire aspect of the scenery, and replaced the waving woods and rushing rivers with arable, hop and meadow lands, and dribbling, torpid streams.

I propose (1st) to give a history of the trade from the earliest time to its extinction; (2nd), to describe the mode in which iron was manufactured in Sussex, and so call your

attention to the remains of the works; (3rd), to examine the nature of the productions of the furnaces of the district; and (4th), to indicate the localities in which iron was worked.

It is very evident that the Britons were acquainted with the process of smelting iron before the appearance of the Romans, since Strabo mentions it as one of the exports of the country, and Cæsar states that iron rings formed the currency of his age. But from whom they learnt the art is uncertain. As usual, in cases where there is no history, the Phœnicians have the credit of teaching. It is very improbable also that the scythes and axes with which they impeded the conquest of their country were made of brass, which latter would probably have been imported. During the Roman period the art of iron smelting progressed wonderfully, huge masses of cinders in the Forest of Dean attesting the industry in the manufacture. We have also traces of the existence of these works at two points at least in this county, viz. at Maresfield and Seddlescomb. At the former place the evidence is incontestible,—large quantities of Roman ware have been found among the cinders, and several coins of Nero, Vespasian, Tetricus, and Dioclesian, were discovered. Now it is a curious fact that the dates of the reigns of these emperors are in two epochs, viz. from 54 to 79 and 274 to 285. It may be a matter for speculation as to whether the works were abandoned in the interval between them, and whether they were again left after the last date, or carried on until the final departure of the Romans in 400.

The remains at Seddlescombe are more conjectural, consisting only of a few coins; but there is no ware, or any other indication of Roman residence. For eight hundred years domestic history is a blank. A few furnaces must have existed in some parts of the island, to supply the weapons required in the wars of the Heptarchy, and to repel the invasion of the Saxons, Danes, and Normans; but all evidence that they existed in Sussex is wanting, and we know that iron was largely imported. For some time after the Conquest the trade was of so slight importance as not to be even mentioned in *Doomsday Book*, though Gloucester and some other western counties were taxed in iron at this time.

The first documentary evidence shewed that the trade was in full vigour in the neighbourhood of Lewes, for in

1266 a grant was made to the inhabitants of that town, to impose a tax of one penny on every load of iron passing through it, for the purpose of repairing the town-wall after the battle of Lewes. In 1290 the ironwork for the tomb of Henry III was made by an ironmaster near Lewes; and in 1300 we have evidence of a trade in iron with London, for the iron dealers there made a complaint to the lord mayor that the smiths of the Weald brought in iron for wheels much shorter than it ought to be. In 1340 three thousand horseshoes and twenty-nine thousand nails were contracted for in Sussex, for Edward III's expedition to Scotland. Then in the latter part of the fifteenth century cannon began to be made in England, usually of wrought iron bars held together by rings; but in the next century cast-iron ordnance was introduced, the same being cast by Hogge at Buxted. The manufacture seems to have extended rapidly in the county, for at the sale on the attainder of the Lord Admiral Seymour, in 1549, we find fifty-one guns and eleven tons of shot enumerated in the inventory of the furnace at Worth. In 1572 we find Elizabeth forbidding by proclamation the exportation of cannon; but it was of little avail, for in 1587 a commission was appointed by the master of the ordnance to inquire into the matter, and three years afterwards every furnace-holder was "bonded" in £1,000 for the due observance of the proclamation. The iron trade was then at its height; but a retribution for the wilful waste of the noble forest was beginning to fall on the owners of the land. In other parts of the country the effects were observed earlier, and the attention of Parliament had been directed to it. In 1581 new ironworks were forbidden to be erected within four miles of the coast or Downs, or twenty-two of London; and in 1585, as the previous restriction appears to have been inoperative, all iron mills were forbidden except on ancient sites. In 1607 there were one hundred and forty ironworks. This era of prosperity brought its usual accompaniment of fraudulent substitution of the worse kinds of metal for the better. The waste of wood-cutting being continued, Charles I, in 1636, issued a commission for the better preservation of the timber and woods, and for marking and stamping the different qualities of iron; but in 1643, when the county was overrun by the Parliamentary forces, many of the ironworks belonging to

the Royalist party were destroyed by the forces under Sir W. Waller. The roads at this time were so cut up by the iron-carts, that an act was passed compelling the iron-masters to carry one load of cinders for every six loads of mine or iron; but as this was systematically evaded, the impost was altered to that of three shillings on every ton of iron, or three loads of ore, for the repair of the roads. Yet the waste of wood continued, and its amount may be surmised when we are told that one furnace at Lamberhurst consumed 200,000 cords annually.

A more formidable adversary to the local iron trade appeared in 1620, when Dudley discovered the method of making iron with the aid of coal. He was, however, opposed, his bellows were cut, and, after years of struggling, he died a ruined man, and in debt. A blow was then struck at the root of the charcoal iron trade, which ultimately overthrew it. But it existed nearly two centuries longer, in a more and more depressed condition, until in 1740 there were only fifty-nine furnaces in the whole of England, of which Sussex had the greater number, although Gloucester produced a larger quantity of iron than any other county. In the recovery of the iron trade from its depression, the coal counties asserted their preeminence; and the trade then gradually dwindled until the steam-engine with its hot blast, coke, and limestone, destroyed the remaining relics.

The next point we have to examine is the mode in which iron was manufactured in this county, and which will also indicate the nature of the remains we may expect to meet with. The art of smelting was very imperfectly known to the Romans and early inhabitants of these islands, and the older cinder-heaps are therefore preferred for road-making, because they contain more iron, and therefore harder. But a more convincing evidence is afforded by the fact that the Roman cinder-heaps of the Forest of Dean furnished half the iron produced for two hundred years after improved methods came into vogue. The earlier furnaces were constructed at the top of hills, so that a perpetual draught could be obtained independently of the direction of the wind. As may be supposed, these "bloomeries" were very slow in their action, and, as we have seen, very imperfect in their results; still they produced iron of sufficient quality for the wants of the time. Doubtless bellows were early employed in this



manufacture, as we learn from the sacred pictures that the early Egyptians used them in the smelting of ore; and we know that the Saxons were acquainted with their application to the organ and to the ordinary blacksmith's forge. The hand-bellows, worked by relays of men, were probably the first improvement on the bloomery; and then the application of water-power brought down the manufactures to our own day, the *locales* of the furnaces being removed from the summit of hills to the valleys beneath. The preliminary stages did not differ much from those now in use. The surface of the ground being covered with a layer of charcoal about four inches thick, a layer of iron-stone about two feet thick was placed over it; on this a layer of charcoal, and another of ore, until seven or eight feet in height had been attained. The heap was then covered all over with charcoal, ignited to the windward, and the whole slowly roasted; by which means many gases and much water were expelled, and the ore made more brittle for the next process of smelting. This was conducted in the furnaces, which were large conical structures formed with brick and lined with freestone. The process seems to have consisted solely in raising the ore mixed with charcoal to a great heat, by which a portion of the cast-iron was produced; and, mixed with "slag" composed of the sandy material of the ore, it fell to the bottom of the furnace, whence it flowed into a sand-mould, to form what was termed a "sow." This process is still adopted in some parts of Spain, where wood is plentiful; but it is wasteful both of ore and fuel. The sow, consisting of a mixture of cast-iron and slag, was then put under the hammers, to squeeze out the latter and convert it into malleable iron. This process, carried on at the forge, and throughout the county, gives us a clue to the sites which we find denoted by the names of Furnace, Forge, Hammer, etc. The sow being rolled into the furnace of the "finery," was partly fused, and then shifted by tongs under the hammers, until all the slag was beaten out, and the particles of iron forced to coalesce. The mass was again and again beaten until a square bar about two feet long, termed a "bloom," was produced. As a forge or hammer-mill was a necessity for every ironwork, and as in some parts they occurred every few miles, we can readily believe the assertion of Camden, that they filled the neighbourhood day and night with continual noise.

Of course works of this extent could not be carried on without the employment of a great number of men, and at that time the country partook far less of an agricultural character than at present. We have an interesting account of the number of men employed at a first-class forge and furnace, in the inventory of the goods of Admiral Seymour in 1549, published by Sir H. Ellis. He had two establishments, one for the manufacture of iron generally, and the other principally devoted to the production of iron ordnance. At Sheffield the furnace employed twenty-four men, of which number ten appear to have been skilled workmen, and fourteen labourers, termed servants. Two miners and two "coleyers" were probably employed away from the works,—one class superintending the working of the ore or mine; and the other the process of charcoal burning, or "cole," as it was termed. These had eight labourers attached to them, while the two hammermen, the two finers, the founder, and the filler, had six labourers to assist. As the works could only be carried on (at all events of late years) in the winter, owing to the scarcity of water, the labourers were probably all employed at charcoal burning during the summer. They all worked at piece-work, except the overseer, who weighed the iron from the workmen to the iron-house. The cannon foundry at Worth employed a staff of thirty-three men, of whom eight were gun-founders and ten were labourers. There were besides, one hammerman, two finers, one founder, one filler, five coleyers, three miners, and ten other labourers. Richard Woodman, one of the Marian martyrs, burned at Lewes, when before Bonner, said: "Let me go home, I pray thee, to my wife and children, and see them kept, and other poor folke that I would set aworke. By the grace of God I have set awork a hundreth persons ere this all the year together."

The remains of the works, scattered over an extensive district of the county, may be readily surmised from this description. The most durable are the large ponds which formerly drove the machinery, and which are usually found in valleys of moderate width, across which a dam is thrown, with sluice and other arrangements for feeding the wheels which drove the bellows of the furnace and the hammers of the forge. The two manufactories were of course situated as near as convenient to each other, and usually on the

same stream, so that the water should be used as economically as possible. These ponds were often of great extent. Thus we find the following entry on the manor roll: "The lord of the manor of Robertsbridge holdeth the iron forge, with the furnace-ponds containing 14 acres, and the forge-pond 9 acres." The sluices for the management of the water are often found; but the ponds are now mostly dry, and have been converted to agricultural purposes. On the side of most furnaces huge heaps of slag-cinders are still remaining, after supplying the neighbourhood with road-material for centuries. In the vicinity of furnaces producing cannon, the proof-bank is sometimes found, as at Maresfield, where shot are often dug out.

The earlier productions of the Sussex ironworks appear to have been principally bar or pig-iron, for transportation to the metropolis, where it was manufactured into articles for use. The earliest authentic relic we have is an iron monumental slab in Burwash Church, to the memory of John Collins, with Longobardic letters. It was, therefore, probably not cast later than 1330. Then we have the requisition for horseshoes about this time. The manufacture of andirons or firedogs, an article of universal use throughout the mediæval period, was very extensive, and considerable skill was often displayed in rendering them ornamental. They often bore the royal arms, the sacred monogram, or the family shield of the owner. We have also innumerable instances of fire-backs, of which some bore very elaborate devices of classical or biblical stories, with the arms of the founder or proprietor depicted thereon. In the Diary of the Rev. Giles More, of Horsted Keynes, we find entered in 1658, "Payed 13s. for a plate cast for my kitchen chimney, besides 2s. given to the founders"; thus shewing that largess to servants existed even then. In the same year, "Payed Edward Cripps for an iron plate for my parlor, with Mr. Michelbourne's arms upon it, 10s." The arms, therefore, are not a certain evidence of the first owners.

The production of cannon was a most important branch of the Sussex iron-trade at a time when the facilities for water-carriage were very great. The trade is said to have been introduced by foreigners, and the first works to have been carried on at Buxted, where

“Master Huggett and his man John
They did make the first cannon.”

In 1543 Hogge was assisted by Peter Baude, a Frenchman, and Van Collet, a Fleming; but although he may have been the first in that neighbourhood, I think it probable that cannon had been previously manufactured; for only three years later, in the sequestration of Admiral Seymour's works, we find fifty-one cannon of various calibres in stock. The gun-trade attained great importance, and cannon continued to be among the best productions of the Sussex ironworks. The British were supplied therefrom until the middle of the last century; and not only the British, but also, on some occasions, the privateers of Britain's enemies. It required some severe prohibitory statutes to suppress this latter villanous trade.

Monumental slabs were formed of iron during the whole period, many of the earliest and some of the latest specimens of castings taking this form. They are mostly dedicated to the memory of some ironmaster or his family, and of course are most numerous where the trade was most flourishing. At Mayfield there are thirty examples in the church. Occasional articles for household use were also manufactured, although cast-iron was not much appreciated by our ancestors in their domestic arrangements. The railing round St. Paul's, the most notable specimen of Sussex ironwork, was cast at the Lamberhurst furnace, and cost £11,000.

ON
THE GREAT SEAL OF FRANCIS II OF FRANCE
AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS,

AS KING AND QUEEN OF FRANCE, SCOTLAND,
ENGLAND, AND IRELAND.

BY HENRY F. HOLT, ESQ.

CONSPICUOUS among the many celebrated names of history is that of Mary Queen of Scots, around whose existence a halo of interest and mystery has settled, possessing a fascinating charm of its own, and endowed with an attraction to posterity which neither fades nor decreases. Each century produces its quota of her admirers and detractors, according to the personal or political bias of each commentator or biographer of the illustrious lady. It would, indeed, be difficult to quote an instance wherein exalted rank has been more continuously made the shuttlecock of power, and the tool of contending influences, or where the honour and happiness of a sovereign have been more cruelly tampered with, than in the case of the unfortunate Mary. The same inexorable destiny seems to have persecuted her from the hour of her birth to the moment of her decease. Without a chance of enjoying, for a single instant, the natural exercise of that freedom which was the privilege of the humblest of her subjects, her whole existence was passed in being made in turns the idol or the victim of those persons who constituted her the butt of their ambition or selfishness. Hardly had she drawn her first breath at Linlithgow, ere Henry VIII, taking advantage of the distracted state of Scotland, through his ambassador, Sir Ralph Sadler, boldly demanded her as a wife for his son, the Prince Edward; and openly declared his intention to invade Scotland both by sea and land, unless the infant queen were placed within his power, and on his own conditions. As a consequence of this infamous declaration, Mary of Lorraine was driven to have recourse to a measure which had the immediate effect of changing the whole tenor of her daughter's existence; whereby she, in fact, created a danger as great as that against which she sought protection. Thus, in order to avoid the persecution

of Henry of England, she sought the aid of his rival, Henry II of France. State policy, however, compelled the queen regent, for the moment, to keep her intention secret, and to apparently concur in Henry VIII's views. She accordingly entered into a treaty with him on the 21st July, 1543, which was duly ratified at Holyrood on the 23rd August following, whereby the hand of Mary was pledged to Edward, the fair *fiancée* being then of the mature age of eight months. Notwithstanding, however, this contract, it was felt on both sides to be a mere shadow without a substance, one consequence of which was the bitter animosity of Henry towards Scotland to the day of his death, and the continuance of his policy by the Lord Protector Somerset, who signalised the advent of the youthful bridegroom, Edward VI, to the throne of England by invading the dominions of his infant-betrothed bride.

The result of the disastrous battle of Pinkie, on the 9th Sept. 1547, decided the fate of Mary, then in her fifth year, as her mother lost no time in renewing the negotiations with Henry of France, which resulted in the royal child being, with the consent of the Governor Arran and the nobles of Scotland, betrothed to Henry's eldest son, the Dauphin Francis, and in her embarking for France on the 7th August, 1548, accompanied by her suite.

To the French king this acquisition was a perfect god-send, a masterstroke of policy, which bid fair to realise the ambitious views he had entertained since the birth of Mary, viz. to bring the kingdoms of France, Scotland, and England, under one rule, by effecting a marriage between his son, Francis, and Mary of Scotland. The early decease of Edward VI must, therefore, have almost seemed to Henry a special interposition of Providence to promote his views. His confidence in his plan was further politically justified by the subsequent union of Mary of England with Philip of Spain, and the remote chance of their having issue; as well as by the fact that the divorce of Katherine of Arragon having been repealed by Parliament, and Mary thereby legitimised, the effect of it was to attain Elizabeth with bastardy; whereby, in his opinion, Mary of Scotland would, *ipso facto*, become next in the line of inheritance to the throne of England, notwithstanding the preference given by the will of Henry VIII to the posterity of his youngest sister

before Mary in the reversion of the English crown. These views Henry did not hesitate to express so early as 1553, in his correspondence with Anthony de Noailles, his ambassador at the British court.

The establishment in England of the Roman Catholic religion by Queen Mary, and the well-known tendency of the Princess Elizabeth towards the Reformed Church, were additional motives for inducing the king of France to conclude that, in the event of Mary of England's decease without issue, his daughter-in-law, as queen of Scotland, professing the Romish religion, and supported by a French army, would be readily accepted by the English nation as their queen.

That such *was* his policy is further and conclusively shewn by the fact of his having, on the 4th April, 1558, obtained from the youthful Mary of Scotland her signature to an instrument granting him and his heirs the succession to the realm of Scotland, and all her rights to the throne of England, should she die without issue. A few days after this was executed, viz. on Sunday the 24th April, Mary was married, at Notre Dame, Paris, to Francis the Dauphin.

In honour of this event Henry caused two medals to be struck, of different sizes. These are here referred to simply as the first of a series subsequently struck at the royal mint in Paris; whence, indeed, every known seal, medal, or coin, representing Francis and Mary as king and queen of England, was issued. One of the most interesting writers upon Mary Stuart erroneously supposed the marriage medallion before mentioned to have been struck at the mint in the Canongate at Edinburgh. All question on that point was, however, set at rest by the discovery, in 1840, of the original dies at the Hôtel des Monnaies, Paris, and from which the impression of the larger medallion was taken. The smaller silver coin, dated 1558, was however, it is believed, struck at Edinburgh to commemorate the marriage; as was a gold medal now to be found in the Sutherland cabinet in the Advocate's Library, Edinburgh, which bears date 1558, and resembles the Paris wedding medallion on the obverse, with the two heads, "*Respectant*"; the reverse and legend, however, being altogether different.

On the 17th of November following, Mary Queen of England died; and that fact having been communicated to Henry by his ambassador at London with the utmost speed,

the king lost no time in taking steps to lay claim to the sovereignty of the whole Britannie empire on behalf of Mary Queen of Scots as the rightful representative of Henry VII; "and therefore," according to Speed, "as the nearest in blood, and lawful heire to the crowne of England, he caused by proclamation, in Paris, her style to be published under the names of 'Mary Queen of England, Scotland, and Ireland,' and caused the arms of England to be joined with Scotland and France, which the Dolphin and shee did both use on their seales, tapestry, and other adornments, which caused great troubles (saith Leslie) betwixt the kingdoms of England, France, and Scotland." (*Vide Speed's Succession of England Monarchs*, book 9, p. 860. London, 1850.) This proclamation is further alluded to in the *Memoirs of Lord Burghley* (vol. ii, p. 33), where mention is made that Mary, the Dauphin's wife, and queen of Scotland, had been publicly decorated with the additional titles and the proper armorial insignia of a queen of England and Ireland; and the detail thus proceeds: "In the eye of a discerning statesman, the designs of the French and of the Catholics everywhere could not possibly have been more significantly displayed than in the assumption of the title and arms of queen of England and Ireland by Mary *at the moment of Elizabeth's succession*."

The manner in which the arms of England first appear to have been assumed by Mary was as "Baron and Femme." In the first was the coat of the Dauphin of France, which occupied the upper part of the shield, whilst the lower half contained that of Mary. This impaled, quarterly, 1, the arms of Scotland; 2, the arms of England; the 3rd as the 2nd; the 4th as the 1st. Over all, half an escutcheon of pretence of England; the sinister half being, as it were, obscured or cut off. "Perhaps so given," says Strype, "to denote that another" (and who should that be but Queen Elizabeth) "had gotten possession of the crown in her prejudice." One of those escutcheons being brought out of France, and delivered to the Duke of Norfolk, Earl Marshal, he referred it to the heralds, who found the same to be prejudicial to the queen's majesty, her state and dignity. This decision may be seen in Strype's *Annals* (vol. i, p. 12). "Hence," says Camden (p. 34), "flowed, as from a fountain, all the calamities wherein she (Mary) was afterwards wrapped."

The news of this assumption by Mary reached England early in January 1558, and is thus noticed by Lord Burghley in his Diary of the 16th January in that year: "The Dolphin of France and his wife, the Queen of Scots, did, by the style of king and queen of Scotland, England, and Ireland, grant to the Lord Fleming certain things," etc.

From the data which exist, and the course adopted by Henry II, it is clear he did not content himself with the mere assumption by Mary of the title and arms of queen of England; but that it was intended to follow up those claims by taking possession of England with the aid of Scotland, dethroning Elizabeth, and in her stead elevating Mary. (*Vide* Lord Burghley's *Memoirs*, p. 33.)

The knowledge of these facts doubtless very materially expedited the coronation of Elizabeth, which took place at Westminster on the 15th January, 1558. Elizabeth's position at this period was far from satisfactory. She was without friends, allies, or money; at war with France, and Scotland in the power of the Dauphin and Mary. Peace, therefore, became an indispensable necessity for her, and it was happily concluded at Chateau Cambresis on the 2nd April following.

All Elizabeth's remonstrances, however, against the assumption by Mary of the title of queen of England were in vain, and seemed but to have the effect of increasing the desire of the French king to maintain it. No better indication can be adduced of this stolid determination on the part of Henry than the fact that within a few days after the conclusion of the before-mentioned peace, he caused the great seal of Francis and Mary to be prepared at the royal mint at Paris, and to be forwarded direct to Mary of Lorraine. By a singular coincidence it was sent in the same ship which conveyed Mary's implacable enemy, John Knox, to Scotland, where he landed on the 2nd May, 1559. This fact appears in the following letter from John Knox to Railton (*Sadler's State Papers*): "It is most assured that such a jewel, the great seal, with the usurped arms of England quartered, is lately come to our realm; but it is kept a marvellous secret. It was sent in the month of May, in the same ship in which I came to Scotland, and was shewn to me in great secrecy."

As any notion of attacking England by sea was wholly

out of the question, Henry endeavoured to hit on some expedient whereby he might be enabled to send an army into Scotland under pretence of supporting the authority of the Regent Mary. Accordingly, in May 1589, directions were given her by Henry to declare the supremacy of the Catholic religion in Scotland; one immediate consequence of which was to create that body of Protestants known as "The Congregation," who, desirous of testifying their determined opposition to the regent's proclamation, hastily collected an armed force, with which they, in the month of June following, vainly endeavoured to besiege Perth.

So matters stood at that time, and all seemed progressing favourably towards the development of Henry's views, which he further supported by raising a large body of troops ready to be sent to Scotland the moment the marriage of Philip to his sister, and that of Madame Marguerite with Philibert of Savoy, had taken place. The month of July following was appointed for the celebration of these solemnities, in honour of which a grand tournament was to be held at the Palace of the Tournelles, Paris; and to which, on the 10th July, Mary was borne in a triumphal car emblazoned with the royal escutcheons of England and Scotland, and preceded by the two heralds (both Scots) of her husband Francis and the king, apparelled with the arms of England and Scotland, and crying in a high voice, "*Place! place pour la Reine d'Angleterre!*"

Such was the progress made by Henry in giving effect to his wishes, when his dreams of victory and aggrandisement were on the same day brought to a fatal termination by his jousting with the Count of Montgomery, and Francis the Dauphin thereby became "Francis II, king of France and Scotland."

Mary's perfect approval of the schemes of her late royal father-in-law fully appears from the following extract from a letter of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, the English ambassador at Paris, who, as early as the first week of Mary's accession to her new dignity as queen of France, thus wrote to Elizabeth: "I am informed that the young French queen, since the death of the French king, Henry, hath written unto Scotland that God had provided, notwithstanding the malice of her enemies, that she is queen of France and Scotland both, and trusts ere long to be queen of England." The

correctness of this surmise cannot be better exemplified than by the fact that one of the first events of the new reign was the preparation of a new great seal at the Paris mint, on the obverse of which Francis and Mary (each wearing a crown, and both holding a sceptre in either hand) are clothed in royal robes, and represented side by side; each seated on a chair of state placed under a canopy semée with fleurs-de-llys; their feet resting on a separate cushion with tassels, beneath which is the date 1559. The legend round the obverse is "Franciscus et Maria D. G. R. R. Francor., Scot., Angl., et Hyber.;" and the seal was in like manner remitted to Scotland, where its obverse still remains; the reverse having been, in all likelihood, destroyed. There is a cast of the obverse, with its probable reverse, in the British Museum. This seal was noticed by Sir Nicholas Throckmorton in his letter to Queen Elizabeth, dated 14th Sept. 1559, wherein he wrote: "I am informed that there is lately sent a seal into Scotland with the arms of England, France, and Scotland quartered, bearing this style, 'Fran. et Mar. D. G., Fra., Scot., Angliæ et Hiberniæ Rex et Regina.' The same arms are also graven on the French queen's plate; for the more certainty whereof Mr. Peter Mewlas and I, at our being together at the court, were one day served with the like at dinner, whereof I thought good to advertize your majesty." Sir Nicholas Throckmorton again alluded to the seal in his letter to Sir William Cecil, dated Paris, 20th October, 1559: "I have received one letter from you wherein you sent me a remembrance for getting knowledge of the French queen's seal for Scotland, which as you say—so do I—is a matter of great importance. I cannot learn thereof otherwise than I have written heretofore, which I have had confirmed as good news, that it hath been at the hands of the engraver."

Both Francis and Mary being on their accession mere puppets in the hands of the Duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, those statesmen resolved not to abate the preparations already made for maintaining Mary's claim to the English throne. Accordingly they directed the Queen Regent to at once make a truce with the confederates, and to adopt such other measures as they deemed necessary for the successful accomplishment of their intentions; in this they were, however, foiled by the treachery of the Earl of Arran, who communicated their plans to the English ministers,

and thereby enabled them to take steps to defeat the intended object. As a measure of precaution the Queen Dowager fortified Leith, and partly garrisoned it with the small body of French soldiers who had come to her aid. To meet this difficulty the Protestants again appealed to Elizabeth, who eagerly complied with their wishes, and in the October following the allied forces besieged Leith, the object being to complete its reduction before the arrival of additional troops from France.

The intention of the Guises to dispatch further forces to Scotland will be found specially mentioned by Sir Nicholas Throgmorton in the following extract from his letter to Sir William Cecil, dated Blois, 10 November, 1559. "For the rest I can as yet learn nothing. The bruit of the French great preparations towards Scotland continues still." Circumstances, however, preventing the intended expedition, the court of France sent ambassadors to Elizabeth to persuade her to withdraw her troops; but she, comprehending the reason, viz., to give Francis the liberty of making himself master in Scotland, that he might afterwards with the greater ease attack England, not only refused to do so, but published a manifesto to show the indispensable necessity she was under to drive the French troops out of Scotland. The Amboise conspiracy breaking out in March, 1560, the Guises found themselves unable to carry out the favourite project they had formed with respect to Scotland, and were compelled to defer the execution of it to a more convenient time; consequently Francis II, having declared to Elizabeth his wish for peace, plenipotentiaries were sent on both sides to Berwick-on-Tweed, on the 30th of May, 1560, where the preliminaries of a treaty between England, France, and Scotland, were signed, and the treaty itself concluded at Edinburgh on the 9th of July following, and commemorated by a silver medal.

This medal was another production of the Paris mint, whereon Francis was represented on the obverse in bold relief with the proud and unique legend, "Franciscus D. G. Franc. et Scot. Rex," without the slightest allusion to Mary, whilst on the reverse were two cornucopiæ filled with flowers, surmounted by two miniature busts, one representing Francis, his head adorned with a wreath of laurel, and the other Mary, *without the laurel*. A large F, surmounted by the

crown of France, appears between the two cornucopiæ, and at the foot, the date 1560, "Pax cum Anglis." A more complete or impudent ignoring of Mary's position as Queen Regnant of Scotland can hardly be imagined.

That it was so considered would appear from a silver coin subsequently issued in the same year and which deserves especial notice for two reasons, viz., 1. The omission to claim the right to England; and 2. The introduction of Mary's name as queen. The legend on the reverse being "Fran. et Mar. D. G., R. R., Franco. Scoto. 2," and the arms of England excluded from the escutcheon.

By the fifth article of this treaty it was declared (*inter alia*) that the King and Queen of France and Scotland should not assume the title and arms of the King and Queen of England and Ireland *for the future*, and that all acts passed with those titles should be repealed or deemed of no value.

On the death of Francis at Orleans on the 5th of December (1560) following, the Lorraine princes seeing no opportunity to execute the project of obtaining England by the way of Scotland, and with the assistance of the arms of France, advised Mary to return to Scotland, and gave her several directions for her conduct, and among them one to "quit the title of Queen of England."

In consequence of the unforeseen course of events to which I have alluded, the ambitious dreams of France were dissipated. The great seal of Francis and Mary necessarily became useless, and was soon forgotten; and but for mere accident would, in all probability, never have again come to light. This passing allusion to it may, however, I trust, find a proper resting-place in our *Journal*, and possibly form a useful reference in time to come for those who may feel an interest in this phase of the eventful life of "Mary Queen of Scots."

ON BODIAM MANOR AND CASTLE.

BY J. C. SAVERY, ESQ.

THE sun shone brightly on the morning of the 4th of November, 1359, on a noble company that issued from the gates of Calais. Edward III of England, accompanied by the favourite hero of her people, Edward the Black Prince, and a hundred thousand of her chosen warriors, flushed with the late successes of Cressy and Poitiers, were about to bend their way through Picardy to the siege of Rheims. Among these warriors was Geoffrey Chaucer, the father of English poetry; and holding a higher position in the host was Sir John Dalyngrudge of East Grinstead, who had joined the army at the command of his sovereign, Edward III; and hoped, of course, to obtain glory and riches under two such distinguished leaders. His son Edward, then thirteen years of age, no doubt accompanied him as squire, and served through that campaign which consolidated England's power on the Continent for many years. The office of squire was usually performed by young aspirants for the knighthood, and was often held by the son of the knight. Thus Chaucer introduces the squire in his *Canterbury Tales*,—

“With him there was his sone, a yonge squier,
A lover and a lusty bachelor.
He had been sometime chevachie
In Flanders, Artois, and in Picardie,
And borne him well as of so litel space,
In hope to stonden in his ladies grace.”

He goes on to describe his accomplishments :

“Wel coude he sit on hors, and fayre ride ;
He coude songes make, and wel endite,
Joust, and eke dance, and wel pourtraie and write ;
Curteis he was, lowly and serviceable,
And carved before his fader at the table.”

From this description we learn that the education of the knights in those days was not so much neglected as we are accustomed to suppose. The campaign being over, and peace concluded, we find him, eight years later, in one of the companies of Free Companions, under Sir Robert Knowles, whose shield is sculptured over the southern postern. This

knight is styled by an old French author “le veritable demon de la guerre”; and if the author resided in his neighbourhood, he had, no doubt, ample reason for his fear of Sir Robert, who fixed his headquarters at Derval, where he lived in great state, surrounded by his captains and forces, and whence he spread devastation over the northern portion of France. These Free Companions were composed of those military adventurers in the army of Edward who found themselves debarred from the prosecution of the noble art of war by the peace of Bretagne; and being dispersed into the strongholds of the kingdom, refused to lay down their arms, and united to seek, in the excitement of predatory excursions, some compensation for their loss of employment. Many names of noble birth are found on the rolls of these brigands, and many Englishmen of name and reputation were not ashamed to head the companies, which soon reached nearly forty thousand men. Their services were often eagerly invoked by the petty princes of Italy, and they were always ready to engage in any cause which offered adventure, hard knocks, and ample booty. They besieged castles, and by exacting large ransoms for their captives, especially for the ladies, they realised enormous fortunes; and the greater depredations they committed in a country, the more easily were their ranks recruited. Their numbers soon became so formidable to France, that the king was obliged to rid himself of them by a *ruse*. Peter the Cruel, of Castile, had rendered himself feared by his subjects and neighbours by his cruelties; and having poisoned his queen, a daughter of France, Du Guesclin was appointed to endeavour to combine the Free Companions against him. He found no difficulty in it; and, marching to Avignon, demanded from the Pope an absolution and 200,000 livres. The first was easily obtained; but the Pope did not like the latter portion of the demand. “I believe my fellows,” cried Du Guesclin, “may make shift without the absolution, but the money is absolutely necessary”; and he made him and his cardinals pay it.

After Dalyngrudge had acquired a sufficient amount of money, or become tired of so harassing a life, he returned to England. The first notice we have of him is in the year of Edward's death, when he levied a fine on his manor of Harrington. He was then thirty-one years of age, and had married the daughter and heiress of John de Wardieu, who

had brought him in dowry the manor of Bodiam. In 1380 he appointed one of a great commission to inquire into the estates of the realm, and the expenses of the household of the youthful king; and in 1385 he obtained permission from Richard II to erect the castle on the estate of his wife. He does not appear to have been molested in his residence, and he became of such importance that in 1390 he was one of the commissioners for concluding a truce between the kings of England and France. In the same year he was one of the personages who affixed their seals to a letter of remonstrance to Pope Boniface IX, to which three dukes, ten earls, six barons, and nine knights subscribed. Two years later he was made Governor of the Tower and Custos of London; but being suspected of being too lenient to the Londoners, he was soon superseded.

The license to fortify the castle bears date 1385, and runs thus: "Concerning the crenellating of a manse. The king to all persons, etc., greeting. Know that we have granted to our beloved and faithful Edward Dalyngrudge, Knight, that he may, with a wall of stone and lime, fortify and crenellate the manse of his manor of Bodiam, near the sea, in the county of Sussex, and may construct and make thereby a castle for the defence of the adjacent country, for resistance against our enemies." In the very interesting list of licenses to fortify houses, this is the first and almost only instance of leave being given to make a *castle*. The term, "for resistance against our enemies," was no idle one; for the French had, within the last twenty years, repeatedly ravaged the neighbourhood of Hastings, Fairlight, and Winchelsea; and eight years previously had besieged the valiant abbot of Battle in that town; and in 1380 they burnt Rye, Winchelsea, Hastings, and Portsmouth. Sir Edward, too, especially from his former deeds in the north of France, would meet with scant pity from the French nobles smarting from the effects of the pillage and insults of the English freebooters.

Of the modern history of the castle there is little to relate; and that little will follow more appropriately our endeavours to reconstruct the building on the foundations which yet remain to us, to raise the walls again, clear off the picturesque ivy, and attempt to realise it as it was under the hands of Sir Edward Dalyngrudge, in the year of grace 1386. This will recall to us one of the most important

periods of England's history, for Englishmen always look back with pride on the men who conquered at Poitiers and Cressy, who carried the lions of England over half of France, and first quartered the lilies of France on the British shield, whence they were removed only late in the last century. Any little insight, therefore, which we are able to obtain into their domestic life cannot fail to be interesting.

Bodiam was probably the first example of a regular plan in the construction of English castles of which we have notice. It departed from the traditional principle of keeps, donjons, and encircling walls, and combined at once the palace of the feudal lord and the fortress of the knight. Sir Edward, who had passed most of his best years in France, had, no doubt, there learned the art of making his home comfortable as well as secure.

The Castle, then, is situated on the north bank of the river Rother, and is surrounded by a perfect moat, which is about 112 feet wide on either side. The moat is crossed on the north side by a causeway, on which a barbican was formerly placed, and of which some ruins still remain. This was an advanced work strengthened with a portcullis, and was of such size as to contain a sufficient number of men to prevent a surprise. It was also commanded by the entrance towers. Between the barbican and the Castle was the drawbridge, which Cotton says "instead of going straight, turned off at right angles, to the western side of the moat" (causeway). The Castle itself, which we now approach, is nearly square, with circular towers sixty-five feet high at the four corners, connected by embattled curtains, in the centre of each of which square towers rise to an equal height with the circular.

The gateway is a majestic structure, composed of two flanking towers, defended by numerous oilets for arrows, embattled parapets, and deep machicolations, whence stones and other missiles could be hurled on the heads of an attacking force. Immediately over the gateway are three shields (recently covered by ivy), bearing the arms of Bodiam, Dalryngrudge, and Wardieu. The ancestral arms were often placed over the principal entrance of a castle, to denote the descent of the owner. Above this was the crest of the Dalryngrudges—a unicorn's head. A huge portcullis still frowns grimly over us as we enter a vaulted chamber, about

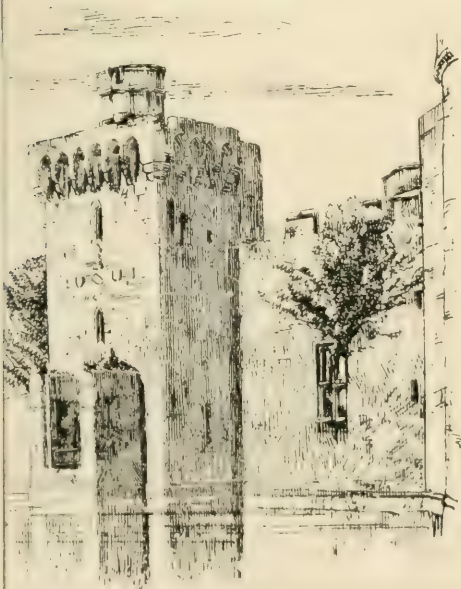
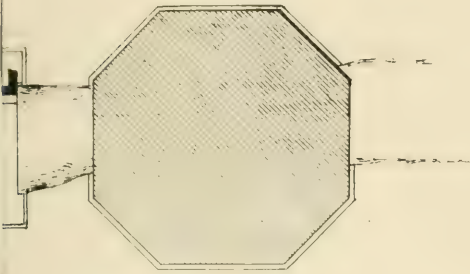
thirty feet by ten, at the intersections of the groinings of which are openings into chambers above, through which melted lead, pitch, oil or water could be showered down on assailants below ; for, the first door and porteullis being passed, there was another, half way through the passage, and yet a third, to be overcome before entrance could be obtained into the court-yard. Mr. Lower—no mean authority—says, “I do not recollect any other instance of such multiplied defences in the gateway of a castle of this period.” Having passed through the gateway we perceive that the latter half of the passage supported a balcony. The southern side of the quadrangle, opposite, is occupied by the windows of the great hall, with oriel, passage, and the still remaining elegant windows of the buttery and kitchen. The windows of the west side have mostly some portions remaining, which give some clue to the disposition of the eastern side. The whole courtyard was surrounded by buildings, and usually of two stories in height. This is evident from the double row of fireplaces and places for beams.

Turning to the left as we enter the quadrangle we find a fine series of chambers, which were probably the apartments of the officers of the fortress, and one smaller on the corner which communicated with the north-east tower. These towers had each three stories of hexagonal shaped chambers.

Proceeding southward, we next come to the chapel, which was a fine room, thirty feet by eighteen. It was lighted by a window of three lights over the altar (which still remains in a dilapidated condition), and probably by a larger one, looking on to the courtyard. The piscina is very perfect, and on the north side of the altar is a hagioscopic window, which permitted a person residing in the north-east tower to view the elevation of the host during the celebration of mass. A sacristy is attached to the south side of the chapel, with the ambry perfect, the mortices for the hinges and bolts of the door being still visible. Above the sacristy is a small chamber, which Cotton and Lower both call a priest's apartment. I must differ from them, as I believe it to have been an oratory, communicating with the ladies' apartment, as there are no conveniences for a permanent residence. The window opens into the chapel, and the ladies of the castle might there perform their devotions without mixing with the motley group which formed the castle congregation.

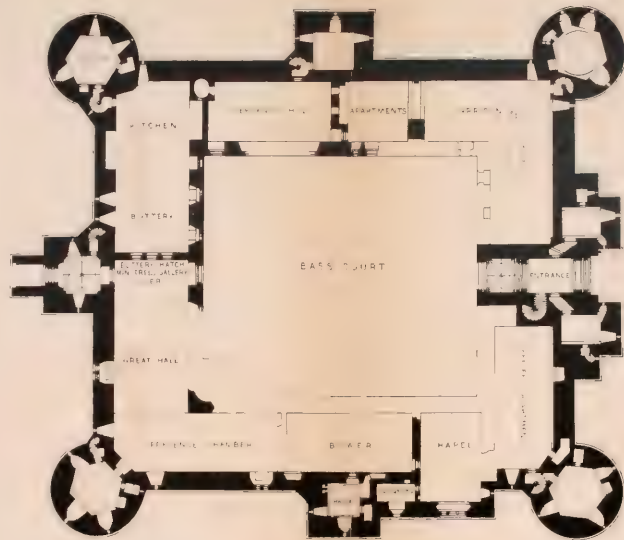
PLAN OF
CASTLE, SUSSEX,
AND
OF THE POSTERN

to the South East.



PLAN OF
BODIAM CASTLE, SUSSEX,

A.D. 1100
SKETCH OF THE POSTERN



PLAN OF PRINCIPAL FLOOR OF THE CASTLE



We find from Chaucer that such oratories were common in the castles of those days, and I think it far more likely that such was its appropriation than to suppose that a priest would be content to pass a winter in the weald, in a room facing the east, without a fireplace. Next the chapel comes the residence of the owner of the castle ; and the first apartments we enter have been termed the bower, and such was probably the application. They were probably the rooms in which dame Elizabeth Dalyngrudge received her lady guests (*circa* 1390), and in which she spent her spare time, surrounded by her maidens, engaged in embroidery or other household employment, which, with the lute and song, whiled away the hours. The principal sleeping apartments were on the first story, or in the square tower, in one room of which are two curious stone cupboards, which were probably used for depositing deeds, jewels, or other valuables. Yet more south was the presence chamber. This room is termed the armoury by Burrell, followed by Cotton and Lower, but I believe that it was the presence chamber, in which the guests assembled previous to entering the banqueting hall. This was always adorned with the richest tapestry, and embroidered cushions, the work of the ladies of the family ; it, as well as the hall, had usually an oriel or bay window. Andrew Borde, the eccentric author of the *Wise Men of Gotham*, about a century later, gave the following directions for building a mansion. "Make the hall of such a fashion that the parlor be annexed to the head of it, and the buttery and pantry at the lower end thereof, and the cellar under the pantry, set somewhat at a base. The kitchyn set at a base from the pantry and buttery ; coming in by an entrance, by the wall of the buttery, the pastrie and larder annexed to the kitchyn. Then divide the lodgings by the quadrinal court and let the gatehouse be opposite, or against the hall door, not directly, but standing a base of the gatehouse in the front entering into the place." The old quack doctor of Pevensey must have had a similar structure to Bodiam in his eye, though, perhaps, it never attained the dignity of having a "pastrie." This presence chamber was a necessary appendage to a castle of that day, and unless this apartment was it, I am at a loss to assign it a place. Beyond this was a room, probably the private apartment of the lord of the castle, and at the south-east angle we find the principal

round tower with a groined basement. The upper stories probably contained domestic offices. From the presence chamber we pass by a bay passage (the foundations of which still remain) into the hall, which was a noble room, 40 feet by 24 feet, at the upper end of which was a raised platform or dais, on which the lord and his principal guests dined. At one end of the dais was a window, and in a corner behind the bay window was the buffet, where the plate used at table was kept. Other tables and benches were placed on the floor of the hall, which was covered by rushes, for the retainers and guests of a lower degree. The roof was of oak, or chestnut, and in the centre was a small turret or aperture to carry off the smoke from the fire which was placed in the centre of the floor on a raised hearth. The walls were covered with tapestry, to about five feet from the ground, though this decoration was fast being superseded by oak pannelling. The principal entrance to the hall in all cases in which traces of the original fittings have been retained was at the lower end, where a space was parted off by a screen, extending the whole width of the hall, and supporting a gallery in which minstrels played during the feast. In the centre of the screen were double doors, communicating with the kitchen, buttery, etc. If the screen were still there, and we were to pass through it, we should find ourselves in a passage opening at one end into the courtyard, and at the other on to the sally-port, which was in the southern tower, and defended by a portcullis, from which it is doubtful whether egress was by means of a drawbridge or by boats. The passage in the tower is groined, and the intersections are armed in a similar manner to those at the principal entrance. There are two chambers above, and from the top of the tower, a charming view of the valley of the Rother is obtained. The buttery hatch consisted here of three arches, through which the viands passed from the kitchen to the hall. The buttery was so called, because the butts and bottles of wine which were required for the table were kept there, not because butter was made there, as I have found it absurdly stated in one Dictionary of Architecture. The minor divisions of the buttery, pantry, and cellar which probably existed here are just traceable. We now pass on to the kitchen, in the south-west corner of the quadrangle, and which communicated with the round tower

that furnished lodgings for the officers employed in these departments, and storage for the stores. The kitchen is a fine room 18 feet square, with two huge fireplaces, which no doubt blazed merrily on many a festive occasion. Our forefathers enjoyed good living, and though their dishes varied much from those we are in the habit of seeing, their mode of cookery did not differ much. Chaucer says—

“A Cook they hadden with them for the nonce,
To boil the chikenes and the marrie bones ;
And Poudre marchant, tart, and galingale :
Wel coude he knowe a draught of London Ale.
He coude roste, and sethe, and broil, and frie,
Maken mortrewes, and wel bak a pie.”

The oven at the side of the northern fireplace has, no doubt, done good service on many occasions.

The other buildings at the west side of the quadrangle are more conjectural in their application. I fancy the two first, next the kitchen, to have been the servants' hall and apartments; and the next the guard chamber, while the north-west corner may have been appropriated to stables, stores, and lodgings for the men-at-arms who joined the garrison of the castle. The details of the building are in many places worthy of notice as being the earliest stage of the adaptation of Gothic architecture to domestic purposes. The windows in the buttery and kitchen are very elegant, as are also the external lancets of the round towers. The corbels of the vaultings in the entrance are worthy of notice, and the chimneys are remarkable both for their elegance of form and the ingenuity of their construction. It is quite a remarkable feature that almost every room is furnished with a convenience.

Such, then, was Bodiam in the day of its power, although now there is little more presented to our view than the outer walls, covered with ivy; and I can tell you but little of its history. In the first century of its existence it passed into the hands of Sir Thomas Lewknor, who, having opposed the usurpation of Richard III, was attainted of high treason, and the Castle was besieged by the royal forces, under Thomas, Earl of Surrey. The earth-works in the field north of the Castle are probably due to this period. After the overthrow of Richard at Bosworth, Sir Thomas's attainder was of course reversed, but it was not until 1542 that his son obtained full possession. From that time till 1643 the

Castle remained in the hands of the Lewknors, who, however, never resided there ; and in that year it was destroyed by the Parliamentary forces, under Waller, who, after he had taken Arundel Castle, dispatched soldiers to take away and sell all the materials of the castles of the Royalists of Sussex. Since that period Bodiam has gradually crumbled before the power of rain, frost, and storm ; still, even now, in the two hundred and eighteenth year of its ruin, enough remains to shew the substantial manner in which the feudal lords of the time of the Black Prince raised their mansions.

STANTON LACY CHURCH, SHROPSHIRE, AND SAXON ARCHITECTURE IN ENGLAND.

BY GORDON M. HILLS, ESQ., HON. TREASURER.

STANTON LACY Church occupied the attention of the members on the last morning of the Ludlow Congress. Its importance as an example of Saxon work has long been recognised ; whilst, on the other hand, it has become the fashion to doubt whether in church building Saxon work had any real importance, and to assert that buildings of architectural character had no existence in Saxon England.

Mr. Rickman¹ contended against those who, when he commenced to study architecture, classified all ancient English architecture having semicircular arches as Saxon, and he justly said that such a classification included all that was truly Norman. He thought the existence of real Saxon work of very early date probable, though not ascertained. He, nevertheless, found examples of church work whose characteristics differed from Norman architecture so as to enable them, in his opinion, to be called Saxon, and to be dated before A.D. 1000. He declined, however, the attempt to assign a more approximate date to any of them. Mr. Parker's valuable additions to Rickman's work greatly increase the original list of early examples ; but he takes occasion to protest that there is strong ground for believing many of them to be subsequent to the Conquest, instancing the churches of Jarrow and Monks' Wearmouth ; whilst one example, at least, of the so-called Saxon church, that of Bradford-on-Avon, Wilts, he thinks was really executed in the twelfth

¹ Rickman, 6th edit., p. 55.

century, after some old-fashioned example. Stanton Lacy Church is one of the buildings introduced into the list by Mr. Parker, with two good woodcut illustrations.

Before quitting his treatment of this era, Mr. Parker again says :¹ "The buildings of this class have not yet been examined with sufficient care to be arranged in chronological order. They may be considered as generally belonging to the eleventh century; and, like the buildings of any other century, might be subdivided into early, middle, and late; each succeeding generation, or an interval of about thirty years, having always made a visible change in the style of building." And again: "There is great reason to believe that Mr. Rickman was mistaken in fixing so early a date as before the year 1000 to this class of buildings. It would be more correct to say before the time of the Conquest, or rather, perhaps, before the year 1100..... In England there is great reason to believe that the earliest churches of this type are those which were built by order of King Canute after he became a Christian, when we are told by the chroniclers that he ordered churches to be built of stone and lime in all the places where himself or his father had burned the churches or minsters during their wars with the Anglo-Saxons. It is most probable that the churches burnt by the Danes in their wars were of wood only, and that they replaced them with stone, according to the fashion of the day; and these are probably the earliest stone buildings now remaining in England, after the time of the Romans." In England "there were only wooden buildings to copy from."

Amongst the numerous disciples of this belief it is common to quote Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* to shew that in his time, and long before, timber alone was used in building. Passages which support this theory are, lib. iii, c. 4, and lib. v, c. 20. In the first case, St. Ninias, the apostle of the Southern Picts, is represented to have built a church which gave to the place the name of "White House" ("Witherne" in Galloway), "because he there built a church of stone, which was not usual among the Britons." In the second case, Naitan, king of the Picts, sends to the abbot of Wearmouth to obtain architects who should build him a church after the Roman manner. We are expected to infer that this Roman manner was only a method of stonebuilding then

¹ Rickman, 6th edit., pp. 99, 100.

newly introduced at Wearmouth from Rome. Another passage in Bede, which helps the theory, is lib. iii, c. 25, where Finan, a Scot, builds a church at Lindisfarne, which, after the manner of the Scots, he made, not of stone, but of hewn oak, and covered it with reeds. Afterwards it was dedicated to St. Peter by Archbishop Theodore.

A fuller reference to Bede's pages will, I think, convince the unprejudiced that the sweeping assertion that stone building was unknown after the Romans till the time of Canute, cannot be maintained. Bede is, in fact, a strong witness in opposition. The considerable evidence which he gives as to the nature of church and monastic buildings down to his own time, deserves more attention than it has received. Some idea of the scope of his testimony may be obtained by a glance at the map of England (Plate 22), on which I have, I believe, marked every church and monastery designated by name in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. He often alludes to the building and founding of churches in whole districts, without naming the places; but these districts are included in the eastern half of the island, which the map shews to have been dotted with churches with whose history he was familiar. These churches, with a few exceptions, are Saxon foundations; all of them became Saxon institutions, and the country they cover may be taken to be the extent of the Saxon domination in Bede's time. In the western parts, where no churches are marked, or are only thinly scattered, the non-Saxon races were still independent, or else their Saxon masters were too few amongst them to produce Saxon churches in any number. The Britons, as Bede usually styles the inhabitants of Wales and Cornwall, and the population subject to the Saxon rulers of the West Saxons and Mercia, were Christians. Bede tells us nothing of their church organisation in his time. He regards them with pity, as being obstinately opposed to some of the observances and monastic rules in which he had been bred; whilst he blamed them that they had failed to instruct the Saxons amongst them, who were yet pagans.

Bede's incidental notices refer, therefore, to Saxon buildings; and in his eyes it is certain they were many of them the reverse of mean and barbarous. I venture to think his scattered allusions to buildings well worthy of a careful review in a collected form, and have accordingly gathered

together all that occur in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and here submit them, beginning with the southern sites. It will be remembered that Bede finished writing this book in the year 731, at which date, therefore, the following little histories terminate.

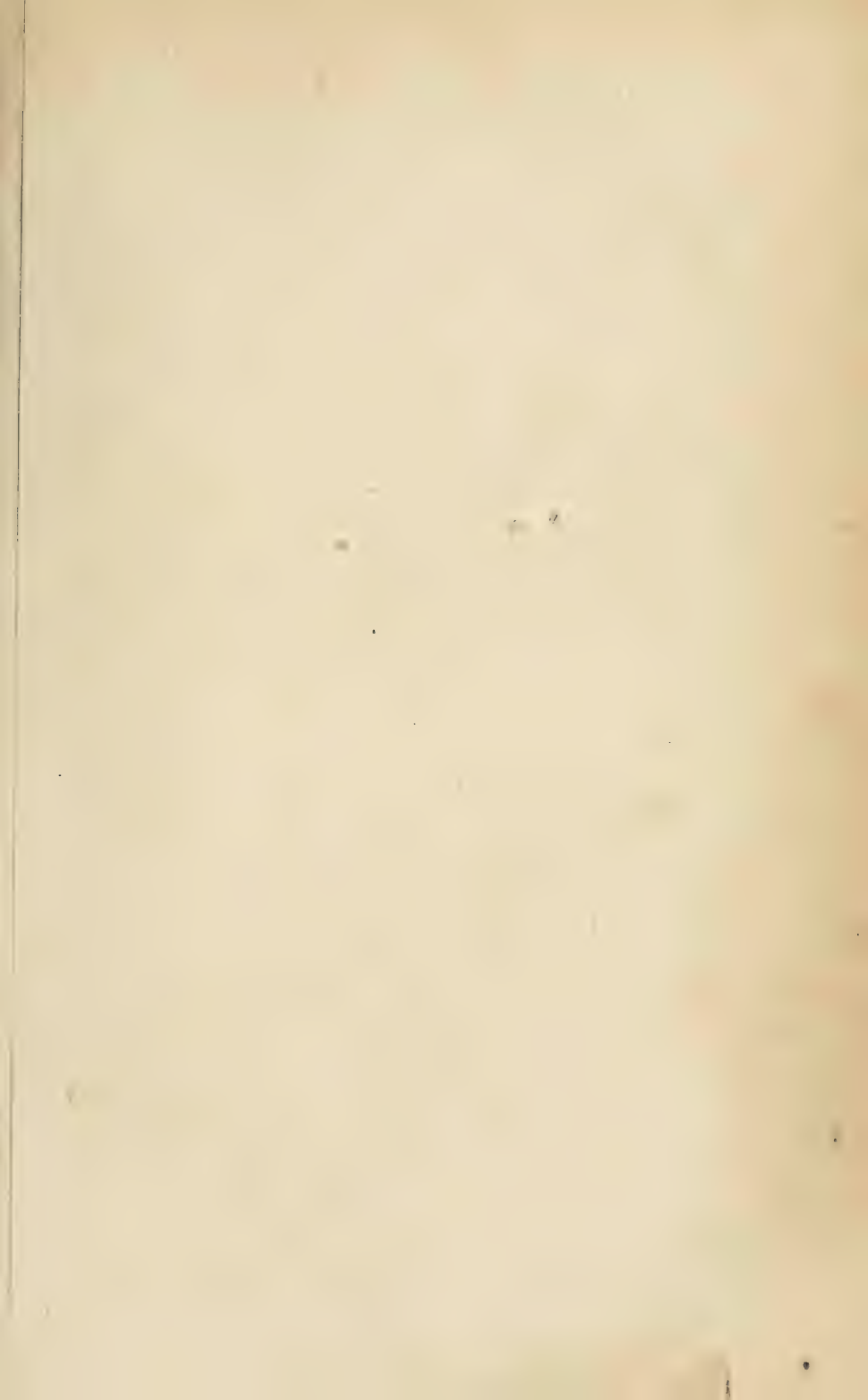
In Bede's knowledge Canterbury had five churches,—1st, St. Martin's, to the east of the city, built whilst the Romans were still in the island, and used by Bertha, the Christian queen of Ethelbert king of Kent, when St. Augustine arrived in 597. St. Augustine himself used it until, on the conversion of the king, the saint was allowed "to build or repair churches in all places." 2nd. St. Saviour's, also a church of the ancient Roman Christians. Augustine refitted it, dedicated it to the holy Saviour, and established there the residence of himself and his successors. It was within the city, and is called by Bede the Church of Canterbury. In his time were still preserved in it a large gold cross and a golden chalice, dedicated to the use of the altar, brought there by Paulinus, archbishop of York; as well as numerous other rich goods of Edwin, king of Northumbria. Edwin having been slain in battle in 633, in the confusion which ensued in the north, Paulinus took refuge in Kent. 3rd. The Church of the Four crowned Martyrs, also within the city. Its origin is not recorded. It narrowly escaped destruction when a great conflagration occurred in the city, about A.D. 619, and this is the only notice we have of it. 4th. The church of SS. Peter and Paul. St. Augustine established a monastery to the east of the city, and in it King Ethelbert erected this church. He enriched it with donations. The erection seems to have occupied some time; and this argues an important building, worthy of a royal founder; so that it was not consecrated till the time of Laurentius, the next archbishop. St. Augustine, at his death, in consequence of its unfinished state, was buried outside this church. After the dedication the body was removed, and buried in the north porch, with a tomb over it bearing an inscription, which is given at length by Bede. In 619 Archbishop Laurentius was buried in the same porch; and in 624 Mellitus, his successor, was laid by him. In this porch were buried all their successors, Justus, Honorius, and Deusdedit, down to Theodore. Theodore and his successor, Berthwald, died in Bede's lifetime; and they were buried within the church

because the porch could contain no more. Over the body of Theodore was a tomb, and inscribed on it an epitaph of thirty-four heroic verses. Ethelbert, in 616, and his queen, Bertha, were buried in another porch, called St. Martin's, in the same church. Almost in the midst of this church, says Bede, is an altar dedicated in honour of the blessed Pope Gregory, at which every Saturday their service is solemnly performed by the priest of that place. The fifth church was dedicated to the holy Mother of God. It was built by Ead-bald, the son of Ethelbert, and consecrated before 624 by Archbishop Mellitus. It was in the monastery of SS. Peter and Paul, and therefore near to the church last noticed. In this church of St. Mary, Hadrian, the learned abbot of the monastery, was buried in 709; being succeeded in the abbacy by Albinus, a friend and correspondent of Bede.

It will at once occur to my readers that the first, second, fourth, and fifth of these churches are still represented by church buildings, viz., 1st, St. Martin's Church; 2nd, the Cathedral; and 4th and 5th, the Monastery of St. Augustine.

The only other establishment specified by Bede in this neighbourhood is the Monastery of Raculph (Reculver). He merely mentions of it, that its abbot, Berthwald, a learned and able ecclesiastic and monk, succeeded to the archbishopric in 690. We have to learn from the *Saxon Chronicle* what, doubtless, Bede knew, that this monastery owed its origin to King Egbert, who gave the place to Bass, the mass-priest, that he might build a minster thereon.

Rochester next claims attention. Bede writes that the place was called "Rhofescester" by the English nation, from one Rhof, formerly the chief man of it. In Bede's time it contained a church dedicated to St. Andrew. It was built from the foundation by King Ethelbert, and endowed by him. The first bishop of it was Justus, who was appointed by St. Augustine about 604. In 644, Paulinus, once archbishop of York, but afterwards bishop of Rochester, died on the 10th of October, and was interred in the sacristy of the same church. In 676 the churches of Kent were ravaged by the Mercians, and this one of Rochester is specifically named. All things were carried off from it, so that Putta, its bishop, who had been famous for his extraordinary skill in the Roman style of church music, himself retired into Mercia. Cuichelm was then consecrated to the see; but he



THE SAXON CHURCHES
AND MONASTERIES
named by Bede
in his
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY



departed for want of necessaries, and Gebmund succeeded. Before 695 Tobias, a most learned prelate, a disciple of Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian, had succeeded Gebmund. He died in 726, nine years before Bede's death, and was buried in the porch of St. Paul the Apostle, which he had built within the church of St. Andrew for his own burial-place.

Of St. Paul's, London, the details are very meagre. Ethelbert, the founder of the sees of Canterbury and Rochester, and sovereign over all the Saxon princes as far north as the Humber, built this church. London was then the capital of the East Saxons. Earconwald, made bishop of London about 675, is reported to have been most holy. The East Saxons had at times greatly fallen away from the faith. Bede conversed with a priest who had been instrumental in their restoration, and reported how they had at length, in much joy, opened their churches again. From a book compiled in the Monastery of Barking, Bede records that Sebbi, king of the East Saxons (about A.D. 690), was buried in St. Paul's Church, London, in a coffin hewn apparently out of a single stone. In Bede's time relics of Bishop Earconwald had come to be highly esteemed. His horse-litter, in particular, preserved by his disciples (the clergy of the church of St. Paul, I presume), was efficacious in curing the sick.

This Earconwald, before he became bishop, had built two monasteries famous in Bede's time, viz., Chertsey, for himself, on the Thames; and Barking, in Essex, over which he placed his sister. The latter monastery was tenanted by men and women, who resided apart; so that a mortal pestilence raging in the country, and which attacked the men's part of the monastery, at least for a time, did not spread to the women's residence. A sick nun had a chamber of her own, distinct from the sisters' residence; and notwithstanding the narrowness of the place where the monastery was built, the churchyard was also divided for the separation of the sexes. Ethelberga, the first abbess, was laid in the church to await her burial. Her successor caused the bones of the departed brethren and sisters to be collected from the burying-ground, on account of its smallness and crowded state, and to be reinterred in the church. Whether within, or how arranged with respect to the church, does not appear; but there seems to have been an oratory for women and an

oratory for men. We read of doors, and the windows closed with shutters, of the latter. The portion of the churchyard allotted to the sisters lay to the west of it, and to the south of the monastery.

About 653 were founded and built, in the kingdom of the East Saxons, the monasteries of Ithancester and Tilaburg. The former, in a city of that name, seems to have existed in Bede's time, as the city certainly did, though its site, near Maldon in Essex, is only approximately known now. The latter, at Tilbury on the Thames, remained at the same time. Bishop Cedd, the founder of both of them, built other churches in the same country, not named.

At Verlamacestir (Verulam, St. Albans), as Bede relates, a church of wonderful workmanship was erected when peaceable times returned, after the death of the martyr in 305; in which church ceased not, to his own day, the cure of the sick and the frequent working of wonders. In 429 the tomb of St. Alban was opened on a visit paid to it by Germanus, bishop of Auxerre, and relics of many other saints were then deposited within it.

The South Saxons were the latest, as their Kentish cousins were the earliest, to receive Christianity. In Bede's lifetime, Dicul, an Irish monk, with five or six brethren, had a monastery at Bosham, closed in by sea and woods, but disregarded by the natives. Wilfrid, expelled from Northumbria, arrived in the neighbourhood, obtained the good will of the sovereign and nobility, and rapidly gained over the people. He founded a monastery, about 681, at Selsey, a small peninsula on the Sussex coast, about twelve miles, by land, from Dicul's monastery, and governed it for five years. Four priests are mentioned as his companions. Wilfrid was a personal friend of Bede's; and Acca, the friend of Wilfrid, and his successor in the see of Hexham, conversed with Bede on the subject of Selsey monastery. It had its own church and regular monastic observances. In its book of obits were recorded the anniversaries of holy men. St. Oswald, the king, became celebrated in the monastery and in all its oratories, (*i. e.*, I presume, in the churches of the neighbouring villages), masses, thanksgivings, and prayers, in celebration of him were to be said. Wilfrid, whilst there, exercised the office of a bishop; and a few years later, the abbot of the place became bishop, but dying some years

Before Bede, the see of Selsey was in abeyance at the time when his history ceases.

In the province of the West Saxons Bede scarcely refers at all to Saxon buildings. Christianity was received by these Saxons about 635, when the city called Dorci-ceaster (Dorchester, Oxfordshire) was granted to Bishop Birinus, where he built and consecrated churches. Witancestir, after his death, became the see of the bishops of the province; and under the third in succession from him, the bones of Birinus were translated from Dorchester, and laid in the church of SS. Peter and Paul at Winchester, about A.D. 673. Before this, under the third bishop, Abbot Aldhelm had founded a monastery at Maidulphsburg (Malmesbury), a place already famous for the hermitage and school of one Maidulph, a Scot. The Saxons evidently formed but a small portion of the population in these western parts. The bulk of the people were Britons. Aldhelm contended with them, and wrote a valuable book, says Bede, against their errors in the celebration of Easter, and in other matters not consonant with the peace of the Church. He prevailed much with the Britons, and became bishop of Sherborne, in the same province, about 705, when it was divided into two bishoprics. About 685, at Reodford, towards the Isle of Wight, was a monastery (believed to be Redbridge at the head of the Southampton Water).

In Mercia the Saxon see of the province was established about 653. St. Chad, the fifth bishop, fixed the see at Lichfield, and was buried there in 669. He had built himself a habitation not far from the church; and besides the church which the clergy frequented, seven or eight of whom were usually with him, there was an oratory which the bishop used for his own devotions. The church was dedicated to St. Mary. In it the bishop was buried. Afterwards another church, dedicated to St. Peter, was built, and the bones of St. Chad translated into it. In Bede's time both the churches were revered for the cures obtained in them. The place of the sepulchre in St. Peter's Church, he says, is a wooden monument made like a little house, covered; having a hole in the wall, through which those that go thither for devotion usually put in their hand, and take out some of the dust, which, put into water, and given to men or cattle, is efficacious in curing.

The seventh bishop of the Mercians founded the monastery of Medeshamshead (Peterborough) before he came to the see in 674; and of this famous monastery we learn no more from Bede. Near to it lay the Monastery of Undalum (Oundle, Northamptonshire), where, in 709, Archbishop Wilfrid died, Cuthbald being its abbot. The last church in Mercia to be named from Bede, is the Monastery of Briudum (Bredon in Worcestershire), of which we learn the existence in 731, and that is all. The district beyond the Severn was, when Bede completed his book, under a separate bishop; and the district of the Wiccians (Worcestershire) had likewise its own bishop. We have no details of their dioceses.

The bishop of Mercia also ruled over the Middle Angles, bounded by the Humber and the sea. In their country, in the province of Lindsey, Paulinus, who had lately been the missionary from Augustine's successor at Canterbury to the Northumbrians, preached successfully in 628. He converted the governor of the city of Lincoln. In the city he built a stone church of beautiful workmanship, in which, in 634, he consecrated Honorius, the sixth archbishop of Canterbury. Of this church, Bede says the roof having either fallen through age, or been thrown down by enemies, the walls are still to be seen standing, and every year some miraculous cures are wrought in it. At Barton on Humber, in the same province, St. Chad built a monastery in 669; to which Winfred, one of his successors, retired on being deposed from the bishopric in 674. In it, Bede says, marks of the regular life instituted by St. Chad continue to this day; intimating, I apprehend, that the monastery, though still existing, was not in full vigour. Bede tells us of one Deda, abbot of Parteney in the same province, with whom he had conversed; and of Alduin, another abbot of the same place. Bardeney he calls a noble monastery, in his own day, in the province of Lindsey. Osthrida, wife of Ethelred, king of the Mercians, caused the bones of St. Oswald the king, her uncle, to be taken to Bardeney. A shrine was made to contain the bones, and placed above the pavement in the church with due honour. Over the monument was hung his royal banner of gold and purple. Queen Osthrida herself afterwards made some stay in the monastery. A monk of this house reported many things concerning it to Bede himself. Near to Parteney was a monastery not named, governed by an abbess named

Ethelhelda. We gather from Bede's allusions that it contained both men and women living apart, that there was a house for guests, and that the abbess had her own residence. The guest-house was in two parts: one is called the porch, and the inner part was where the guests slept.

Bede makes occasional allusions to bishops of the province of Lindsey, but does not name their see, which was at Sidnacester.

Before crossing the Humber, we have yet to trace Bede's notices in East Anglia. In this country two important places are referred to:—1st, Cnobheresburg. About 633 St. Fursey, an eminent ecclesiastic from Ireland, came into East Anglia. Sigebert, the local prince, gave him this place; and he applied himself with all speed to build a monastery, in which he dwelt as abbot, and to establish regular discipline therein. It was a noble monastery, built (says Bede) within the area of a castle called, in the English language, Cnobheresburg; that is, Cnobher's town. Afterwards Anna, king of that province, and the nobility embellished it with more stately buildings and donations. An ancient brother of Bede's own monastery had conversed with a very sincere and religious companion of St. Fursey in East Anglia, and Bede, besides, consulted a book of his life. Fursey, seeing the province in confusion from the irruption of the pagans, and presaging danger to the monasteries (monasteries which are not named by Bede), left all things in order, and went to France.

Although out of England, I think it useful, in illustration of the buildings of the time, to produce what Bede says of St. Fursey's death. He built a monastery at Latiniaum (near Paris), and died there. A nobleman of the Franks took his body, and deposited it in the porch of a church he was building in the town of Perronne, till the church itself should be dedicated. This happened twenty-seven days after, and the body was taken from the porch to be reburied near the altar. Four years after, a more decent tabernacle or chapel being built for the body, to the eastward of the altar, it was translated thither with due honour.

2nd, Ely. Etheldrida, daughter of Anna above-named, built this monastery about 660, and ruled over it as abbess for seven years. Bede speaks of her religious exercises in the church of the monastery, and that she was buried as she

had ordered, in a wooden coffin among her flock. This flock consisted of men as well as women. After she had been dead sixteen years it was resolved to take up her bones, put them into a new coffin, and translate them into the church. The abbess ordered some of the brothers to provide a stone to make a coffin of, and because Ely had no large stones, and was in Bede's time encompassed on every side with sea or marshes, they took ship and went to a small abandoned city called, in the English language, Grantchester ; and presently near the city walls they found a white marble coffin, most beautifully wrought and neatly covered with a lid of the same sort of stone, which they carried to their monastery. It was found to fit exactly to the virgin's body, and had a place shaped to a nicety for the head, which also fitted exactly. This discovery and reappropriation, as we regard it now-a-days, of an ancient Roman sarcophagus, was by Bede and his contemporaries considered a miraculous interposition. We may well gather from the story that for the sake of Ely the Roman remains at Grantchester were not unfrequently pillaged. Whilst the virgin's grave was being opened, a pavilion was erected over it, and the brothers ranged on one side and the sisters on the other, sang. Cynefrid, the physician who had been present at her death, came in at the door of the pavilion after the body had been raised and placed upon a bed. Bishop Wilfrid also, says Bede, was able to testify to all that was seen, and had personally informed Bede. The body being found whole, they brought it into the church and laid it in the marble coffin that had been brought, where, in Bede's day, it was regarded with great veneration.

Of the see of a bishop of the East Angles, in the city of Dommoc (Dunwich), we have only one notice.

Entering now into the double kingdom of Northumbria, we take first its sub-kingdom of Deira, and consider the churches of Deira in two groups—first, York and its neighbours ; second, Whitby and its dependencies.

In A.D. 625 Paulinus was ordained bishop ; he received the pall of an archbishop from the Pope ; and accompanied Ethelberga, daughter of Ethelbert, king of Kent, into Northumbria, where the lady went, being affianced to Edwin, the king of that country. In 627 the king accepted baptism at York, in the church of St. Peter the Apostle, which he himself had built of timber, whilst he was catechising and

undergoing preparatory instruction. As soon as he was baptised he took care, by direction of Paulinus, to whom he appointed the place for his see, to build on the same spot a larger and nobler church of stone, in the midst whereof that same oratory which he had first erected should be enclosed. Having laid the foundation, he began to build the church square, encompassing the former oratory. But before the whole was raised to the proper height, at the end of six years from the commencement, the king was assassinated. King Edwin's head was brought into the church and deposited in the porch of St. Gregory. Oswald, his successor, finished the church. Two of Edwin's daughters were likewise buried in the church while yet young. Whilst Edwin was yet living Paulinus was active in missionary work; and, because as yet oratories or fonts could not be made in the early infancy of the church in those parts, he baptised in the river Swale, which runs by the village of Cataract; but he built a church in Campodonum, a country seat of the king's, which afterwards the pagans, by whom king Edwin was slain, burnt with all the town. The altar, however, being of stone, escaped the fire, and in Bede's time was preserved in the monastery of abbot Thridwulf in Elmete forest. After the death of Edwin, in the confusion which ensued, Paulinus returned into Kent. He left behind him in his church at York, James the deacon, who continued in that church long after. He was extraordinarily skilled in singing, and, when peaceable times came and the faithful increased, he began to teach many of the church to sing according to the custom of the Romans or of the Cantuarians. Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, arrived in England in 669, and shortly made a tour of the whole island. From that time they began in all the churches of the English to learn sacred music which till then had been only known in Kent. James, the deacon, Bede reports, was now the chief instructor of music in Northumbria, and next to him one Eddi, surnamed Stephen, brought from Kent by Archbishop Wilfrid, the first bishop of the English nation that taught the churches of the English the Catholic mode of life. James, the deacon, lived to Bede's own time, and mostly resided near Cataract, named above, at a village which in consequence bore his name.

Rhyppum (Ripon) was at first a monastery of Scots, but as the influence of the Saxon hierarchy began to prevail in

the disputes about Easter, about 664, Wilfrid persuaded the king to give him the monastery, and the Scots, not willing to submit to the English or Roman rule of Easter, quitted it. Bede calls it a monastery of forty families, ten at Stanmore and thirty at Ripon, the place the king had lately given to the Scots to build a monastery upon. Wilfrid, originally a monk of Landisfarne, having introduced the new customs, a full knowledge of which he had acquired during a residence of several years in France, and of some months at Rome, it continued, and he was ordained priest in it. Afterwards he went to France to receive the consecration of a bishop, and, after three years' absence, he returned to Northumbria and became bishop of the whole province. A period of forty-five years passed from his consecration, during which for nineteen years, divided into three periods, he exercised his office, being at other times in banishment, at Rome, in Friesland, and with the South Saxons. He died in peace at his own monastery of Oundle, and, being carried to Ripon, was buried in the church of his monastery there dedicated to St. Peter, close to the south end of the altar. Over him was an epitaph, given at full length by Bede, which records that Wilfrid built and dedicated the church, gave to it gold and rich vestments, placed an elaborate cross enriched with gold, and furnished four books of the Evangelists overwrought with gold, with a rich desk on which to place them.

Another monastery of Scots of which Bede makes mention is Ingethlingum (Gilling), built by Oswy, prince of Bernicia, to atone for the murder of Oswin, prince of Bernicia, perpetrated there by his order about 650, in the house of Hunwald the Earl. Trumhere, an Englishman, was the first abbot of Ingethlingum, until he became bishop of Mercia in 655. King Oswy, at first prince of Bernicia, united Deira to his sway by the death of Oswin; and, having in 655 conquered Mercia, he delivered twelve small portions of land, pursuant to a vow he had made, in which there should be a perpetual residence for monks to follow the warfare which is spiritual, and to pray diligently for the peace of his nation, —each of the said possessions contained ten families; six of the portions were in Deira and six in Bernicia. Near to the monastery of Ingethlingum there was a monastery of virgins called Wetadun (Watton), whose abbess was Hereberga. John, bishop of York, visited the monastery between 706

and 710, and this is the only notice of it in Bede. Berthun, an attendant of the bishop's, and afterwards an abbot of Inderawood, related the visit to Bede: from the incidents described, the practice of bleeding the inmates seems then to have been resorted to, as we know in later times was regularly done in all monasteries. Berthun relates also to Bede how bishop John went to consecrate a church at the country house of an earl named Puch, about two miles from the monastery of Inderawood, and another church which he calls Earl Addi's church. In 679 in the city called Tunna-ceaster there was a monastery. The city derived its name from Tunna, who at that time was abbot of the monastery. The site of the city is not given with any precision by Bede beyond the fact that it was in Northumbria. I have ventured to mark it at Doncaster. Berthun, abbot of Inderawood (the wood or forest in Deira), has been mentioned above. Bede relates of it that bishop John was buried in this, his own, monastery in 721 in St. Peter's Poreh. Berthun still held the abbacy at the time of Bede's writing. My readers will recognise this place as Beverley, and the bishop the famous St. John of Beverley.

The second group of churches in Deira, taken from Bede's notices, comprises Whitby, Hackness, and Hartlepool.

The monastery of Heruteu (Hartlepool) was founded before 650 by a lady named Heise, believed to be the first nun amongst the Northumbrians. The observances within it were of the Scottish church. The foundress shortly quitted it, and went to live in the city called Calceastir. Hilda then became abbess, and was there in 655 diligently enforcing a regular system under the advice of bishop Aidan, of Lindisfarne, a monk of Iona. In 657 St. Hilda undertook to build or arrange another monastery at Streaneshalch (Whitby), which work she industriously performed, and there presided as abbess. She had charge at Heruteu of the daughter of king Oswy, brought to her scarcely a year old in 655. The child was educated by her at Streaneshalch, and lived and died there at the age of sixty, *i.e.* in 715. The church was dedicated to St. Peter, and in it were interred the princess's father, king Oswy, in 670, also her mother, Eanfleda, and her mother's father, Edwin, as well as the princess herself and many other noble persons. In 664 a synod was held at this monastery to induce the Scottish clergy to accept

the English observances. St. Hilda herself died in the monastery in 680, aged 66. Trumwine, bishop of the Picts, died in this monastery some years later, and was buried in its church. The inmates were both men and women. In the remotest part of the monastery a place was set apart where the women newly converted were wont to be upon trial till they were regularly instructed and taken into the society of the congregation. Coëdmon the poet, who wrote in English, was an inmate, having become so after his talent for poetry was evinced. During his last illness in his neighbourhood was the house to which those that were sick and likely to die were carried ; to this place he desired to be carried, and ended his life about the time the brethren were called to sing the nocturnal praises. Bede states that the monastery in his time was already famous for having produced five bishops of singular merit and sanctity.

In the last year of St. Hilda's life she built another monastery called Hackness, thirteen miles from Whitby. It seems to have had nuns only ; the dormitory of the sisters is mentioned, also the church of the monastery, and it is related that it was customary for a bell to be sounded to call all to prayers in the church whenever anyone of the sisterhood was taken out of this world.

The monastery of Lestingau was in Deira. It has not its site very clearly specified by Bede, but is supposed to be the present Lavingham. It was founded by Cedd about 655 in a remote place, and amongst craggy rocks, who committed the building of it to his brother Cynebil, and established in it the customs of Lindisfarne. Cedd, happening to visit it, died in the monastery, and was buried at first in the open air ; but in process of time a church was built of stone in the monastery in honour of the Mother of God, and his body interred in it on the right hand of the altar. His brother Chad became abbot of Lestingau, under whom thirty brethren came from Cedd's monasteries in the East Saxons, and settled in that at Lestingau. St. Chad governed the place till he became bishop of Mercia ; Bede relates of one Owini who wished to be admitted to the monastery, that he came with an axe and a hatchet in his hand to denote that he did not go to the monastery to live idle as some do but to labour. This man, though illiterate, applied himself to labour with his hands, and became a monk of great merit. The monastery continued in Bede's time.

We have now to consider the district of Bernicia. Lindisfarne, the mother of the northern churches, claims the first place. Oswald, king of Northumbria, whom we have already noticed engaged in completing the first cathedral at York in 633, had been baptised whilst in banishment in Scotland; his education thus led him to introduce, in the northern half of his kingdom, Scottish clergy rather than the English whom he had found lately established at York. He gave to bishop Aidan, a monk of Iona, the island of Lindisfarne. On the king's death in 642, his head was taken to the church of this monastery. Aidan died in 651, and was buried in the churchyard of the brethren. When a larger church was built there some time after and dedicated to St. Peter, his bones were translated into it and deposited on the right hand of the altar. His successor, Finan, another Scot, built a church in the isle of Lindisfarne; nevertheless, after the manner of the Scots, he made it not of stone, but of hewn oak, and covered it with reeds. In 664, Colman being then bishop of Lindisfarne, found himself opposed by Wilfrid, then abbot of Ripon, with so much effect that he and all the Scots retired from Lindisfarne and returned home. At this time the place bore marks of the extreme frugality of Colman and his predecessors. There were very few houses besides the church found at their departure, barely sufficient for their daily residence. They had no money nor cattle; great men did not come to be entertained, but, like the king himself, only to perform their devotions in the church; and this frugality, says Bede, was long a characteristic of the churches of the Northumbrians. Colman carried away with him part of the bones of St. Aidan, and left part of them in the church, ordering them to be buried in the sacristy. About 670 Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, visiting the north, dedicated the church built by Finan to St. Peter; and Eadbert, who came to the see in 688, took off the thatch and covered it, both roof and walls, with plates of lead. Cuthbert became bishop of Lindisfarne in 685, where, from the first, the bishop, with his clergy, had dwelt, as well as the abbot with his monks. He died in 687, and was buried in the church. Eleven years after the monks took up the body, dressed it in new garments, laid it in a new coffin, and placed it on the pavement of the sanctuary in a tomb. In Bede's time Bethwezen, a monk, had the duty of waiting on the

guests of the house, and Bede speaks of their place as the hospital. On Farne island, nine miles from Lindisfarne, where bishop Aidan had dwelt, Cuthbert built himself a small dwelling, with a trench about it, and the necessary cells, and an oratory, the mound which encompassed his habitation being so high that he could thence see nothing but the heaven. Two miles distant from Farne island on the mainland was the royal city of Bebbanburgh (Bamborough). On the death of St. Oswald his hands and arms, which had been cut off by his enemies, were carried by his brother in 643 and buried in this city. In Bede's time the hand and arm of St. Oswald remained entire and uncorrupted, being kept in a silver case as revered relics in St. Peter's Church in the royal city. Not far from the city the king had a country house, where St. Aidan had a church and chamber. St. Aidan died in this in a tent set up against its west wall, so that he died leaning against a post that was on the outside to strengthen the wall. Bede relates that the church, being twice burned down by invaders, the post each time escaped untouched; on the third rebuilding of the church the post was removed to the inside and preserved as a memorial of the miracle.

We come now to two monasteries of peculiar interest, the two in which Bede's life was passed, Monk Wearmouth and Jarrow. Benedict Biscop, a scion of the English nobility, when a youth visited Rome in company with Wilfrid, afterwards abbot of Ripon, before 664. Afterwards he revisited that city several times before 680, returning from his last journey in time to be present at the great synod held at Hatfield that year. During this time he had built the monastery of Wearmouth, dedicated to St. Peter, and became abbot of it. On this occasion he brought with him from Rome, John, abbot of the monastery of St. Martin, and archchanter of the church of St. Peter at Rome. He desired to introduce into his own monastery the method of singing as practised at St. Peter's at Rome. John not only taught the method in all its details in that monastery, but many resorted to him from other monasteries to learn, and invited him to teach in other places. Ceolfrid, who had been from the first the fellow labourer of Benedict at Wearmouth, accompanied him to Rome on this last occasion, and succeeded him in the abbacy. To him in 710 Naitan, king of

the Picts, having renounced the erroneous observance of Easter and other errors of the Scots, sent and prayed to have architects sent him to build a church in his nation after the Roman manner, promising to dedicate it to St. Peter and to follow the custom of the Holy Roman Apostolic Church. Abbot Ceolfrid sent the architects he desired. In Wearmouth monastery Bede himself resided from 680, being then seven years old, for a short time, under abbot Benedict, till Jarrow, being founded in 682 and Ceolfrid placed over it, Bede was removed to Jarrow, and there passed the remainder of his life ; here he wrote his books, the *Church History* being concluded in 731, four years before his death. Jarrow was dedicated to St. Paul. When Bede wrote, the order and manner of the services taught by John the archchanter at Wearmouth were still observed there and in many other monasteries. In this neighbourhood, and of older origin than either of these two, was the monastery of Gateshead on the Tyne, of which we learn only from Bede that Utta was its abbot about 653. Bede mentions once a monastery at Tynemouth, and as briefly another at Pegnaeth, where bishop Tuda was buried in 664.

At Hagulstad (Hexham) was a monastery which at times was the see of the bishop of Northumbria, or of Bernicia, the northern division of that kingdom, sharing with Lindisfarne the honour of the episcopal seat almost from the foundation of the see. In 710 Acca succeeded to the see. He much adorned and added to the structure of his church, which was dedicated to St. Andrew ; for he, says Bede, made it his business, and does so still, to procure relics of the blessed apostles and martyrs of Christ from all parts, to place them on altars, dividing the same by arches in the walls of the church. He formed a noble library, procured holy vessels, lights, etc., and greatly cultivated church music, in which he was skilled. He had studied at Rome. Not far from Hagulstad was Heavenfield, close to the Roman wall. At this place, says Bede, the brothers of Hagulstad have lately built and consecrated a church. Here, when about to engage in battle with the Britons in 635, king Oswald had set up a cross to excite his army to devotion. The cross remained to Bede's time, and, being the first sign of Christianity (before all churches and altars) erected in Bernicia, it was held in high regard ; for the devotions of the numerous pilgrims to it, the

church was built. A mile and a half from the church of Hexham, on the other side of the Tyne, there was a building in Bede's time dedicated to St. Michael the Archangel, with a burying-place. St. John of Beverly and a few chosen companions had been accustomed often to retire to this place. In the western part of Bernicia there was, in the latter part of Bede's life, a monastery at Dacore (Dacre, Cumberland), of which Thredred was abbot, and before him Suidbert; in the church relics of St. Cuthbert were kept. At the northern extremity of Bernicia stood the city Coludi (Coldingham, Berwickshire). In the monastery here Etheldreda, queen of Egfrid, took the veil in 660. The destruction of this monastery in 679 is thus related by Bede. At this time the monastery of virgins called the City of Coludi, was burned down through carelessness. . . . There was a man in that monastery called Adamnan, a holy man, who predicted this punishment for the wickedness of the inmates. Returning with one of the brothers from a journey, when they drew near to the monastery and beheld its lofty buildings, the man of God burst into tears and foretold the quick destruction by fire of all the structures, both public and private. He declared that when lately watching and singing psalms at night a voice addressed him, "I have visited all this monastery regularly, have looked into everyone's chambers and beds, and found all negligent of religion; except yourself, all are slothful to sleep, or awake to commit sin; even the cells built for praying or reading are used for feasting, the virgins are busy on adornments of clothing for themselves, a devouring fire from heaven is deservedly ready to fall on this place." The wickedness of the place increased till this destruction actually befell it, as related to Bede by Edgils, then belonging to that monastery, but afterwards a fellow priest with Bede at Jarrow.

Two other monasteries, on the borders of Bernicia, are mentioned by Bede, Melrose on the Tweed, almost surrounded by that river; and Abercurnig (Abercorn) on the Carron, without any particulars of their buildings.

I close these notices with a reference to a monastery in the country of the Picts, Witherne in Galloway. I have already quoted Bede's account of the stone church erected there by Ninias, the British saint, in 565. A friend of Bede's, named Pechthelm, who had been deacon or monk

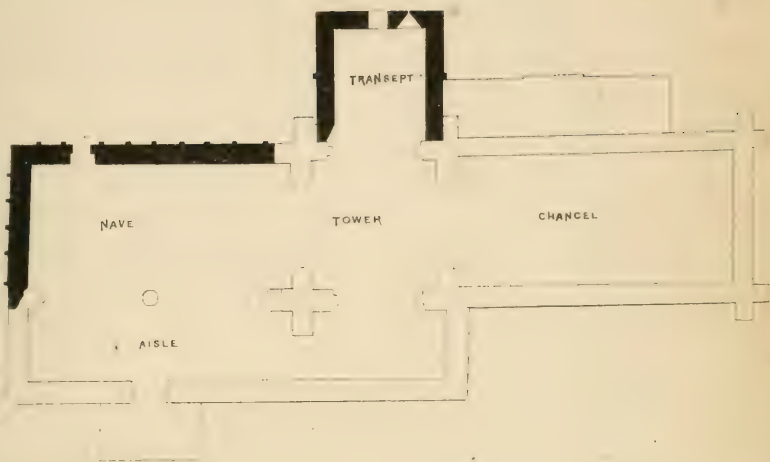
with Aldelm, abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Winchester, is named, in 731, by Bede as the first bishop of Witherne (the first bishop, *i. e.*, of the Saxon hierarchy).

These very suggestive notices make out a very strong case in favour of Saxon architecture and building. Wood and stone were both freely used. I may, perhaps, on another occasion, illustrate these examples from other sources, and indicate a classification of them. The special value which attaches to Bede's allusions is that he was contemporary with much, and familiar with all, that he wrote about; whilst similar evidence taken from chronicles, or writers of later times, must, though referring to the same histories and the same buildings of which Bede speaks, be felt to be tempered by the altered circumstances and the more stately buildings amidst which subsequent chronicles were written. I will now confine my remarks upon Bede to the two monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, and then conclude with a short description of the church of Stanton Lacy, which has been the occasion of this disquisition.

Wearmouth and Jarrow are specially noted by Mr. Parker for exception from the list of Saxon churches. Since he wrote, the examination of both of them has been much more completely made; and I entirely agree with Mr. Orlando Jewitt in respect to Jarrow, and with the Rev. R. J. Johnson in respect to Wearmouth, in pronouncing both churches to possess distinctly Saxon features. Mr. Jewitt's account of Jarrow will be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1864, p. 675. The chancel of this church is there shewn to possess work executed, it can hardly be doubted, in the time of Bede himself. It is a specimen rude in comparison with later work. Mr. Johnson's account of Wearmouth Church is in the *Ecclesiologist* for 1866, p. 361. The base of the tower is here shewn to be a really fine specimen of work perfectly distinct in style from the Norman and later work which is built upon it; and, again, it cannot be doubted that this early work is the work of Benedict Biscop, and was in existence in Bede's time. Yes, it will be said; but it is not Saxon. It is the work of the masons brought by Benedict from France to build a church *more Romanorum*. I grant it. But this does not upset the positive evidence we have of the prevalence of stone building previously. It is an argument that subsequent work may have been improved

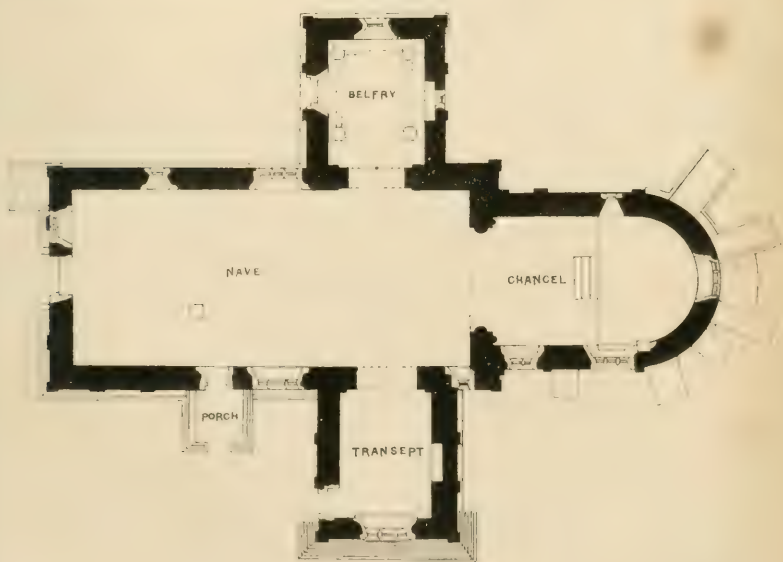
by the workmen thus introduced in the north; and no doubt foreign workmen had long before been employed in the south, even from the first coming of the continental prelates. When Benedict Biscop was building at Wearmouth, the discomfort of the Scottish clergy was just complete. He and his fellows were zealously introducing the *mos Romanorum* in the services and observances of the Church. It required that the churches should be adapted by their builders to these services, and it was natural to employ builders acquainted with churches so adapted; but it is clear, if only from the notices which I have taken from Bede, that the *mos Romanorum* had more reference to the observance of Easter, the tonsure, and the constitution of the clergy, all of which were then being imported from Rome,—all which Naitan, king of the Picts, begged the abbot of Wearmouth to introduce into his kingdom, than with any novelty in the use of stone for building. The attempt, which has so frequently been made, to apply it to the introduction of stone building, must be regarded as a mistake.

We have no other historical authority for placing Stanton Lacy Church in the Saxon period, except the fact that a church at that place is mentioned in *Domesday*. It had then a hide and a half of land, and two priests with two villans had three ox-teams. The north transept and the north side and west end of the church are of pre-Norman character, and may well be believed to form part of the church mentioned in *Domesday Book*. This early work is constructed of large stones of rough form, making a coarse, uncoursed rubble. The face of the wall outside is divided into panels by pilasters, which, in the transept, run to the top of the wall, and have a small cross-piece of stone about six feet below the roof. In the side of the nave the pilasters do not run up the full height of the wall, but leave off at irregular heights. Nevertheless, the upper part of the wall is of the same kind of large rubble-work as the lower. The Saxon walling at the west end rises to the foot of the gable, but the gable itself is modern. The quoins to the nave and transept are not “long and short” work, so that this common feature of Saxon work is here wanting. The transept had a door of Saxon date in its north end; but this is now walled up, as is also a small Saxon window high up, a little east of the door. The north wall of nave has a door coeval with the



*Stanton Lacy Church,
Salop*

Saxon building



Werth Church, Sussex

Scale 50 Feet to an Inch



walling. It has a semicircular head, chamfered imposts, and square jambs, the arch also unmoulded. There is a label-moulding to the arch, upon which a moulding (a bead between two hollows) seems to have been cut in after times. The label does not stop at the springing, but is continued down as a narrow square pilaster on each side of the door. Above the crown of the label, in the face of the wall, is a Greek cross in relief. On it rests one of the wall-pilasters stopping on a base-piece, which is chamfered, and has four balls wrought on the chamfer. In Parker's *Rickman* (p. 91) a good view of the transept and north side of the church is given, and a good drawing of this door. In order to shew what the plan of the church was, when complete in Saxon days, I have reproduced, on the same sheet (plate 23) a plan of Worth Church in Sussex;¹ a church which is, as far as concerns the solid part of its walls, Saxon throughout. Such an one as this, with two transepts and an apsidal chancel, in all probability, was Stanton Lacy Church. To assign a probable date to either of these two churches requires the classification of a good deal of material,—a classification which I hope at a future time to lay before my readers. On this point I will merely say now, that with such an example as that at Wearmouth, of finished architecture, unquestionably of the eighth century, there is no reason to suppose these two churches to be very close to the Norman era; whilst, on the other hand, the lateness of the introduction of Christianity into the South Saxon country, and the small progress made by the Saxon ecclesiastics among the British Christians beyond the Severn in Bede's days, forbids us from committing them to a very early Saxon date.

Of the state of collision between the British and Saxon churches in the western part of England, a striking example is given in the double consecration of St. Chad. He was first consecrated by Wini, bishop of Winchester, assisted by two British bishops of the West Saxon country, who observed Easter according to the Roman rule; but on the arrival of Theodore, as archbishop of Canterbury, he refused to recognise this consecration, and St. Chad was ordained afresh.

Stanton Lacy Church² possesses features of all dates of

¹ From the *Journal* of the Sussex Archæological Society, vol. ix. p. 241.

² For remarks of Rev. J. Bowles, the vicar, and Mr. H. Syer Cuming, see *Journal*, xxiii. p. 287.

mediæval architecture. The chancel seems to have been rebuilt in the thirteenth century; and the lower part of its walls, with two curious recessed tombs in the exterior of the south wall, is of this date. In each tomb is the recumbent effigy of a monk with a cowl or hood. One seems to hold a purse or bag, the other a bird. The upper part of the walls is much later. The south side of the nave has an imposing pair of arches of good fourteenth century work. The aisle-wall has been altered in later times. In it are two external recessed tombs,—a not very remote imitation of those in the chancel-wall, but simpler. One contains a very early incised wheel-cross on a rude slab, the other a foliated, incised cross of the thirteenth century. The tower was inserted in the middle of the church, from the ground, in the fifteenth century.

SEPULCHRAL BRASSES :

A COLLECTION OF RUBBINGS EXHIBITED AT LUDLOW
CONGRESS, 1867,

BY REV. GEORGE STREYNHAM MASTER, M.A.

FROM Ightfield Church, Salop :—

1.—An effigy, 46 inches high, in civil costume, with a dagger and gipciere at his girdle, and with inscription at foot, the whole making about 5 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. in space. The inscription is as follows :—

“ Here lyeth the good William Maynwaryng the second sone of Hawkyn Maynwaryng & Margarete his wyf daughter & heire of Gryffyn Warin. A speciall bñfactor to this Churche, and he dys-sessyd the syxt day of Marche anno dñi millio cccc lxxxxvii, on whos Sowles god almyghty have mēcy. Amen.”

2.—A very fine brass occupying 7 ft. 6 in. by 3 ft. 7 in. It consists of a beautiful female effigy under an elaborate canopy, on which a figure of St. John the Baptist forms the finial. A scroll from the effigy bears the prayer to him,

“ S̄c̄e Johnes baptista ora pro me.”

Four sons and four daughters are represented at the foot of the effigy. The whole is surrounded by a brass border which bears the inscription, and at each of the four angles is a shield two and two alike. One pair of shields bears *cheeky*

(the blazon does not appear on the rubbing), the other pair of shields bears two *bars gules*. The inscription is as follows, but the date was never inserted :—

“Here lyeth dame Margery Calveley dowghter to William Maynwaryng late of Ightfeld Sūtyme Wyf unto Philipp Egerton late of Egerton Squyer by the which Philipp she had thise chidren the which decayd the day of the yea of oure lord mcccc on whos sou Ihu have mēy. Amē.”

From Adderley Church, Salop :—

3.—A brass occupying about 3 ft. 7 in. by 2 ft. 6 in. There are two fine effigies, two daughters being represented beneath the lady, and seven sons beneath the man. The man is in plate armour. The inscription is at foot of the effigies, and is as follows :—

“Here lieth buried under this stone the bodes of syr Robart Nedecham Knight and dame Agnes his wyffe daughter of John Maynwaring of pever esqu’ which sayd Robart decessed the iiii daye of June Anno domini 1556 and the sayd Agnes decessed the ii daye of Maye Anno domini 1560.”

4.—The effigy, 4 ft. high, of a bishop or abbot holding a crozier in the right hand and book in the left. The head of the figure is gone, but the form of a mitre appears in the stone. No inscription remains, the border which probably bore it is destroyed. This effigy is a very fine one.

From Tong Church, Salop :—

5.—An effigy, 25 in. high, with inscription at foot. The inscription as follows :—

“Hic jacet Radulph Elok ecclie cōfrat’ istius colegii qui natus fuit in villa Stopfordie infra comitatum Cestrie qui obiit in festo Sēc Katerine virginis et marter’ Anno dñi millmo ccccc desimo.”

6.—A splendid brass 6 ft. 5 in. by 2 ft. 11 in. Two very fine effigies, each with a Scripture text—

“Benedictus Deus in donis suis.” And “Ihū fili david misere nob.”

The children at their feet have the four following texts :—

“Dñe levavi aiām meā ad te.—fili dei memento mei.—Spāvi in dño et eripuit me.—Ihū filū marie pietatis misere nobis.”

A fifth text is destroyed. The male figure is in complete plate armour. The lady has an elephant at her feet. Five daughters are represented beneath the lady, and seven sons

beneath the man. Above the two principal figures are three shields, and beneath them are three more. Between the figures one shield remains and one has been destroyed; round the whole is a brass border bearing an inscription. The shields at the top bear—1st, *barry of six*; 2nd, the coat of Pype; 3rd, *a fess checky between six escallops*. The upper shield between the figures bears the coat of Vernon; the tower, it may be conjectured, bore that of Pype. The shields at the foot bear—1st, *three lions passant gardant*; 2nd, Vernon impaling Pype; the 3rd is blank. The inscription on the border is as follows, the date of the lady's death having never been completed:—

“Hic jacent dñs Willm̃s vernon Miles quondm̃ Miles constabularius Anglie filius et heres dñi Ricardi Vernon Militis qui quondm̃ erat Thesaurarius Calesie qui quidem dñs Willm̃s obiit ultimo die mensis Junii Anno domini Milliño cccclxvii. Et Margareta uxor diçi Witfi filia et hereditar' dñi Roberti Pypis et spernoies (*sic*) Militis que quidem Margaret' obiit die mensis anno domini Milliño cccclx quorum animabus propicietur Deus.”

From Withington Church, Salop:—

7.—The figure of a priest, 30 in. high, with inscription at foot:—

“Here lyeth buried Master Adam Grafton, the most worshipfull prest lyvyng in hys days, sumtyme chapleyne to the ffamous princys Kyng Edward the Vth & prince Arthure, archdeacon of Staff., warden of the battellffeld, deane of Seynt Mary College in Salop, & p'son of thys church, whych deceassyd y^e xxiiii day of Juli a^o Dñi M v^e xxx, whose soul god r[ec]eive[th].”

8.—An imperfect brass, about 4 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 8 in., the female figure and one shield and group of children concealed beneath a pew. The part visible presents a juvenile looking male figure armed. At his feet part of an inscription, and beneath it seven sons depicted, under them a shield bearing an elephant and castle. The inscription is—

“Hic jacēt Johēs onley filius et heres dñi rbt...
militis civitatis covent'e qui obiit xix^{mo} die mens...
milliño ccccxij et Johña ux' ejs quor' aīabs...”

From Middle Church, Salop:—

9.—A small male and female effigy, occupying about 4 ft. by 2 ft. 4 in., with a coat of arms above, *fess checky* impaling 1st and 4th, *lion rampant*; 2nd and 3rd, *ten roundels*; a son and daughter at foot, and this inscription:—

“Here lyeth buried in the mercy of Jhesus Christ y^e bodye of Arthure Chumbre gētylman trewe patrone of this p’isshe churche of Middle and Margaret his wyfe, by hir he had yssue one sonne and one doughter, whiche Arthure deceassyd the xix day of August in the yere of our Lord god ā mⁱ ccccc lxiiij, whose bodye and soull God graunte a joyefull Resurrexeyon. Amen.”

From Acton Burnell Church, Salop :—

10.—A very fine armed effigy under a canopy. The following inscription is placed at the top, but must probably have been at the foot. The space occupied is 7 ft. 6 in. by 2 ft. 9 in. :—

“Hic jacet Dūs Nichūs Burnell Miles dñs de holgot qui obiit xix^o die January Anno Dñi m^{mo} ccc^{mo} lxxxij^o. Cuj^s aīe ppiciet’ dñs am.”

From Ludford Church, Co. Hereford :—

11.—Two figures, with inscription at foot, occupy about 6 ft. 4 in. by 2 ft. 9 in., and four shields are placed at the angles; the same bearings are repeated on each except that over the female, and under the male an additional quarter is added on the sinister side, and these additions are not alike. The very elaborate bearings are those of Fox, and the two different additions which are impaled on two of the shields, though they do not give half the shield to the said additions as is usually done in impaling the wife’s arms, are probably the arms of a first and second wife. The dress and armour of the male figure is of a type earlier by sixty years than the date of the inscription. Nine sons and five daughters are depicted.

“Here underneth this stone lyeth y^e bodye of Wyllyam ffox of Ludlowe yn the countye of Salop Esquier and ffounder of this Ile adjoynng unto this churche and which Wyllm reedefyed the Almes Howse of Seynt Gyles beyng decayed and also Jane hys wyff daughter & heyre of Richard Downe of Ludlowe aforseyd which Wyllyam deceasyd the xxiiijth daye of Aprill Anno Dñi M’ccccliiij and the seyd Jane deceasyd the day of A^o Dñi M’cccc^o on whose soules Jhū have mercy.”

Wales.—From Llanbeblig Church, Carnarvon :—

12.—A small brass plate, 1 ft. 6 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. A woman holds a coat of arms, a shield, and a device like a purse, and an hour-glass. The inscription—

“In quo pre multis scribendi glīā fulsit
Ricūs Foxwist hic pede tritus adest
Annus xpe tuus fuit M.D. luce Patrici
Dū tenet expirans vulnera quinquē tua

Corp̃is atque sui tandē pars additur altra
 dū conjux uno clauditur in tumulo
 Hecque Johanna fuit ac Spicer nata Johanne
 Pauperibus larga pudica fuit."

From Clynnog Church, Carnarvon :—

13.—Figure of a child, with inscription at foot :—

"Heere lyeth interred y^e body of William Glynne the eldest sonne of William Glynne of Lleyar in the counti of Carnarvon Gent. and of Jane his wife. Hee departed this life y^e 22th of September Anno Dñi 1633. Being aged 2 years."

From Beaumaris Church, Anglesey :—

14.—A brass 1 ft. 3 in. by 1 ft. 10 in. has a man and woman kneeling opposite each other. The man in civil costume. Two sons are with the father and one daughter with the mother. A small figure bearing a cup, probably St. John the Evangelist, kneels over the head of the man. A figure of the Virgin and child is above the woman. In the centre between them is a representation of the Trinity. The man has a scroll with the words "Osanna in Excelsis;" the woman has one with the words "Kyrre Eleison." The inscription underneath is as follows, in raised letters instead of the more usual sunk method. A coat of arms between the two principal figures is destroyed.

"Hoc tegitur tumulo Ricardus nōie Bulkley
 Hujus mercator providus oppiduli
 Elizabeth cōnux custos fidissima sacri
 Conjugiique sub hoc marmore clausa iacet
 Jūcta Deo vivis fuerat quibus una voluntas
 Post obitum maneat unus item tumulus."

From Whitchurch, Co. Denbigh :—

15.—A brass plate 2 ft. 7 in. by 1 ft. 9 in. A male and female figure kneeling, with two desks between, overhead the Hebrew inscription "Jehovah;" seven daughters behind the lady kneeling, over them her coat of arms; nine sons behind the man, and over them his coat; between the two principal figures the arms of both per *pale*. The husband's arms present three different quarterings; the lady's arms are *two hinds counter passant*. The inscription is as follows :—

"In vayne we brage and boaste of blood, in vayne of some we
 vaunte,
 Sythe fleashe and blood must lodge at last where nature us did
 graunte.

So where he lyeth that lyved of late with love and favoure muche
To fynde his ffrend, to feele his foes, his countrey skante had
suche.

Whose lyff doyth well reporte his death, whose death his lyff
doyth trye.

And poyntes with fynger what he was that here in clay doyth lye.
His vertues shall enroll his actes, his tombe shall tell his name,
His sonnes and dawghters lefte behynd shall blase on earth his
fame.

Looke under feete, and yow shall fynd upon the stone yow stand
The race he ranne, the lyff he lead, each where an upright
hand."

In the margin—

"She dyed the last of decemb. 1565, etatis sue 49.

He dyed the viii of February 1575, etatis sue 67."

NOTE BY H. SYER CUMING, Esq., V.P., UPON HIS PAPER
ON "THE DOUGLAS HEART."

(See ante, pp. 35-40.)

LITTLE did I anticipate, when reading my paper on "The Douglas Heart," that it would ever attract the attention it has done, and call forth the various opinions which have since been expressed concerning it. No less than four distinct, discordant, and irreconcilable theories have been ventilated respecting the "Heart," which are divisible into three groups; and these may be distinguished as the historic, the religious, and the sentimental. All I desire is an impartial judgment as to which is the most consistent with probability, common practice, tradition, and history. The first theory is the old belief, in which I with several eminent antiquaries coincide, that the silver case in question is a "Douglas Heart." Next comes Mr. G. Vere Irving's theory that the trinket is "a reliquary made for Sir William Seymour in memory of his wife, Arabella Stuart."¹ The third idea is that it represents the heart of the Blessed Virgin. The fourth, that it is a lover's present.² The last theory is adopted by a certain Mr. "J. B." of Oatlands, who rushes into print to give the *coup de grace* to the "grave mistake," under the signature of "Anglo-Scotus,"³ and gets something for his pains from Mr. Vere Irving.⁴ Though three out of these four opinions must be false, it is only against me that the charge of a "grave mistake" is levelled; it is only against my view that the wrathful thunder is hurled. We will begin the review of these several theories with the religious one, as it may be disposed of in the fewest words, and serves as a step towards the others. It is quite true that the wounded heart of Mary, like the thorn-encircled one of the Holy Saviour, is occasionally

¹ See *Journal*, xxiii, 383.

² See *Notes and Queries*, May 16, 1868, p. 462.

³ *Ib.*, June 13, p. 562.

⁴ *Ib.*, July 4.

represented crowned, and we well-know that in Italy little silver hearts are offered at the Virgin's shrines, but they differ entirely from the trinket under consideration. The fact that there are sacred hearts of precious metal, and of other materials, cannot in the least degree militate against the one engraved in our *Journal* being a Douglas heart, about which (with exception of the cross saltire) there is not any religious symbol. But then it is said this cannot be a "Douglas Heart," for the crown surmounting it is not the Scottish diadem. Can the promulgators of this bold assertion agree among themselves what they will accept as a type of the Scottish crown? Which one will they select from the many varieties appearing on the royal seals and national coinage of North Britain? Is it that in which the circle is surmounted by fleurs-de-lys, or the one with strawberry-leaves, or that with trefoils? Is it the crown where crosslets mingle with, or take the place of foliage? Is *their* Scottish crown arched or open, and can it be discovered among the *three different diadems* displayed on a *single* piece of money of King Charles I marked XII? On this *one* coin we see the monarch wearing a crown with unornamented arches, that ensigning the royal arms on the reverse having its bars decorated with leaflets, whilst the two little crowns above the letters C.R. are far more French than British in their aspect. If the truth may be spoken, the old die-sinkers, seal-engravers, and trinket-makers, like too many craftsmen of the present day, paid little attention to details. With them a crown was a crown, and when they had delineated one they thought they had done all that was needed.¹ But, with regard to the one surmounting the Douglas heart, I have a strong conviction that the artist strove to do his best, and that he intended to represent the early Scottish diadem with the more modern addition of the arched bars; and that in all probability he had, either before him or in his mind's eye, the crowns upon the money of James V, and his unfortunate daughter Mary Stuart.

So much for the crown; now for the cross upon the Douglas heart. It is the saltire of Bruce, say some; one of the cross-saltires of the Earls of Lennox, thinks Mr. Vere Irving; why not the emblem of St. Andrew, the patron saint of Scotland, asks another; whilst "Anglo-Scotus," from the rural shades of Oatlands, pronounces it to be nothing but the "paneling," a notion which is considered by a mutual friend to be "below contempt." I adhere to the opinion expressed in my much-abused paper, that the cross on the heart is the Bruce saltire, although I am willing to admit that the emblem of St. Andrew would be a fitting decoration to such a memento as the one we are discussing. Of course such a cross cannot in any way be connected with the Virgin; and in charity we should refrain from associating such a sign with love.

If the winged heart on the cordated shield be not the badge of the house of Drumlanrig, as Mr. Vere Irving admits it to be, I am at a loss to account for its presence. So far as I know, sacred hearts are never represented with wings; and surely it would not be very complimentary in a lover to hint that the heart is flighty.

Turning from the shield on the front of the case to that on the back, the first point to comment on is "Anglo-Scotus" most original idea,

¹ The liberties which artists sometimes take with national crowns is illustrated by the diadem surmounting the bust of Queen Elizabeth in the Barber jewel. See *Gent. Mag.*, Dec. 1810, p. 603

that the hinge of the lid might be mistaken for an heraldic charge. All that need be said to this is, that if any one could be found who would so distort a simple contrivance into an impossible purpose, they would shew a mental condition which ought to cause the greatest anxiety to their friends.

As "Anglo-Scotus" is satisfied that the silver heart is nothing but a lover's token, so also he discovers that the fruit, and the hamper which is its receptacle, "typify Plenty." He evidently mistakes the basket for a cornucopia, just as he does the saltire for panelling, and thinks the hinge might be turned into a "chief, and the scroll ornaments above it into three stars." Mr. Vere Irving finds in this device a basket of Devonshire apples, in allusion to the circumstance that Arabella Stuart's mother was the sister of William Cavendish, first Earl of Devonshire of that name. Dr. W. Bell throws out an ingenious hint that the basket of fruit might be emblematic of Pomona, chief of the Orkney group (the one island being typical of the whole archipelago), and refer in some way to the Lords of the Isles.

Before the paper on the Douglas heart was written, diligent search was made by myself and my friends in public and private collections, and in curiosity-shops, to see if a duplicate could be found; and failing to discover such a thing, it was considered justifiable to describe Lord Boston's example as rare, as well as interesting. Now, however, we are told that such hearts are so common that they can be purchased at any time, either in London or on the Continent. No sooner was this announcement made than Hanway and the neighbouring streets were visited by anxious inquirers; but the sale of the hearts had been so rapid, that not a trace of one remained either in the shops or recollections of the sellers; and two of our members, whose habits of observation and research entitle them to be admitted as important witnesses in the matter, assure me that in their several visits to France, Germany, and the Netherlands, they have never seen, in any shop, hearts at all resembling our Douglas heart. Considering the long and close connexion which subsisted between France and Scotland; that Scotchmen of all grades took service in the French army; that there were English courts in the Low Countries, at Cologne and at St. Germain, to all of which Scotchmen flocked; there would be nothing very marvellous if Douglas hearts were found on the Continent, as well as the relics and mementoes of the Stuarts which are every now and then brought to light. With what we know about the rapidity with which the market is stocked with required objects, we must prepare ourselves, after what has occurred, for a glut of brand-new Douglas hearts: some probably rubbed, bent, and battered, after the most approved fashion of old silver.

With regard to the idea so long and fondly cherished by many an old Scottish family, that the rings they possess displaying two hands holding a heart appertain to the Douglas, I would just say that, whether right or wrong, they might very fairly support their belief by pointing to the famous sword mentioned in this *Journal* (p. 36 *ante*), on which the self-same device is conspicuous. And as to the ring described in the *Gent. Mag.* (March, 1831, p. 211) as being found at Denebury (*sic*), Mr. John Latham, who communicated it to that periodical, must be held responsible for suggesting that it relates to the Douglas family.—a suggestion which, in my humble opinion, is worthy of respect. The

wings on this ring are, indeed, inverted, as in the arms of Seymour, Rayney, and other families which might be named; and not elevated, as in the Douglas badge. But as before observed,—and this fact must be patent to every student in archæology,—the trinket-makers have never been over-nice about details, and have not unfrequently committed "grave mistakes" in heraldry.¹

And speaking of trinkets and trinket-makers brings to mind a circumstance bearing in some degree upon the subject we are discussing. After a notice of some Scottish cordiformed brooches appeared in our *Journal* (xv, 283), it was said that the most interesting point in their history had been omitted, viz., that such brooches were originally employed by the Douglas clan to secure the plaids. Attention was called to the fact that the hearts were surmounted by coronets, not crowns, that one of the brooches was a double heart, and that the legends graven on them were of an amatorial nature. The first objection was met by the remark that what I denominated a coronet was intended for the *ancient crown of Scotland*; the second, that the joined hearts was the mere caprice of the artificer; the third, that any sort of legend might be added at any time by anybody, and that affectionate sentiments were as appropriate on a Douglas heart as on any other type of brooch.

I believe I have now touched on the main, if not on all, the matters in dispute respecting the Douglas heart, and shewn how utterly at variance are the views of my opponents, and how entirely they have failed in convicting me of any "grave mistake." I have gone thus fully into the subject, as I intend this note to be a final reply to all cavillers, having neither leisure nor inclination for prolonging a useless controversy.

¹ We learn from the *Athenæum* of May 16, 1868, p. 700, that at a meeting of the Archæological Institute, held May 1st, Mr. O. Morgan exhibited "a ring with a heart-shaped carbuncle surmounted with a crown, and called a 'Douglas ring'; together with two small silver boxes, heart-shaped, and which had also been considered Douglas memorials." In *Notes and Queries*, May 16, 1868, p. 642, Mr. Morgan describes his ring as "set with a bezil consisting of a heart-shaped stone surmounted by three others, ranged as it were in the form of a coronet."

Proceedings of the Association.

NOVEMBER 25TH.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

THE election of the following members was announced :

- Sir P. Stafford Carey, High Bailiff of Guernsey.
- W. H. Black, Esq., F.S.A., Mill Yard, Goodman's Fields.
- Alfred Hooper, Esq., Arnoth Lodge, Clevedon, Somerset.
- W. H. Cox, Esq., 17, Blenheim Crescent, Kensington Park Road.
- N. Herbert J. Westlake, Esq., Hanover-street, and Gothic House,
Canterbury Road, Notting Hill.
- W. Bevan, Esq., Cedars Road, Clapham Common.

Thanks were returned for the following presents :

- To the Author*, Ralph Carr, Esq., of Hedgeley, F.S.A. Scot., for Essay on the Inscriptions upon the Stones of Newton Inch, Aberdeenshire, and St. Willan's, Forfarshire. 4to. 1868. (Two copies.)
- „ „ M. Charles Roessler, for Essay on the Exploration des Sépultures Gallo-Romaines du Mesnil sous Lillebonne, in May, July, and October, 1867. 8vo. 1868. (Two copies.)
- „ „ Dr. Lindenschmidt, for Zeitschrift des Vereins zur Erforschung der Rheinischen Geschichte und Alterthüme in Mainz. Vol. 3. Part I. 8vo. 1868.
- „ *Society of Antiquaries, Lond.* Archaeologia, vol. 41, Pt. II, 4to. ; and Proceedings, vol. 3, No. 7 ; vol. iv, Nos. 1, 2. 8vo.
- „ *Cambrian Archaeological Society*, for Journal, 3rd Series, Nos. 55, 56, for Sept. and Oct. 1868. 8vo.
- „ *Sussex Archaeological Society*, for Collections relating to the History and Antiquities of the County. Oct 1868. 8vo.
- „ *Historical and Archaeological Society of Ireland*, for Journal, vol. i, 3rd Series, Nos. 1 and 2 ; and vol. v, New Series, Nos. 54 and 55. 1868.
- „ *Royal Archaeological Institute*, for Journal, No. 96. 8vo. 1867.

To the *Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, for Address by Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., President; 8vo, 1868 (three copies); and for Preparations of the County of Kent to resist the Spanish Armada, by Joseph Mayer, Esq., F.S.A., President; 8vo, 1868.

„ *Royal Society of Northern Antiquaries, Copenhagen*, for Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie udgivne af det Kongelige Nordiske Oldskrift-Selskar, for 1867; Nos. 1, 2, 3; 8vo, 1868; and for Tilloeg till Aabøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie, etc.; 8vo, 1868.

„ *American Academy of Arts and Sciences at Boston and Cambridge, Mass.*, for Memoirs of the American Academy; New Series, vol. 9, Part I; and Proceedings of ditto, vols. 6 and 7; pp. 184; 4to.

„ *Smithsonian Institution (America)* for Annual Report of the Institution for 1866. 8vo.

„ „ *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 15; 4to, 1867.

„ „ *Proceedings of Essex Institute, Salem, Mass.*; 4to.

Lord Boston, V.P., sent for exhibition a brass badge worn by one of the *Garde-de-Chasse* of the forest of Soignies near Brussels, a locality rendered famous by the battle of Waterloo, and where many a wounded soldier crawled from the field to breathe his last. This badge is of an ovate form, two inches and five-eighths by two inches and a-quarter, and is stamped on either side with a representation of the conversion of St. Hubert in the forest of Ardennes. This great patron of huntsmen flourished in the beginning of the ninth century, but he here appears habited in a long-skirted stiff-cut coat, buttoned down the front, such as came into fashion at the close of the seventeenth century. A corn-de-chasse swings at the saint's waist, a nimbus surrounds his bare head, he bends on one knee before the milk-white stag (between whose antlers rises the crucifix), and behind him stands his horse. Both animals are accompanied by a tree, indicative of the forest. Above is a cherub, and beneath the letters S.H. The whole subject being inclosed by a simple but well-designed border or frame. This badge is pendant from a brass chain ten inches and a-half long, which was secured to the dress of the *Garde-de-Chasse*.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming said that whatever related to St. Hubert was of interest, but that he had seldom seen a more interesting memento of the renowned huntsman than that which he was now permitted to submit for inspection by their esteemed Vice-President the Lord Boston, whose stores of treasures really seemed to be inexhaustible. He had been informed that this badge of the *Garde-de-Chasse* was of considerable rarity, and he did not remember ever seeing another example.

Some may think the placing the letters *S.H.* on this object a work of supererogation, but the fact is that the scene exhibited would do as well for the conversion of St. Eustace as for that of St. Hubert, hence the necessity for the initial of the latter Saint. Mr. Cuming went on to say that we had now become pretty familiar with the signs of St. Hubert in the shape of hunting horns; and as we have had before us a wooden cup carved with his story, so now we have the privilege of inspecting a badge bearing the same subject. He would, therefore, take this opportunity of directing attention to two effigies of the Saint in painted glass, of which he produced coloured tracings by Mr. H. Watling. St. Hubert soon after his conversion renounced the world and retired to the forest of Ardennes as a hermit, but eventually became Bishop of Liege, and both pictures under review show him in his pontificals. The earliest, of late fourteenth century work, was formerly in Stonham Church, Suffolk, but in 1840 in the possession of a glazier named Copeman. The drawing of this figure is worthy of admiration. The somewhat lofty mitre, the orphreys of the purple dalmatic, and the cross on the right shoulder, are all of a golden colour, as well as the pastoral staff held in the right hand, and from which depends a golden hunting horn. The left hand supports an open book. The second effigy of St. Hubert is of the sixteenth century, and formerly in the east window of All Saints Church, Wilbye. He wears a golden mitre of more modern form than the foregoing, and his dalmatic is secured at the neck by a morse. Mantle and alb have both golden orphreys, and the stole is of a golden hue. The bishop holds in his left hand a closed book with a golden cross on its cover; and with his right seems to caress a stag, rampant at his side. Although no Church in England is dedicated to St. Hubert, these figures are a good proof of how popular he was among us in olden times.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited an abbot's ring, found about forty years ago close to the Abbey at St. Alban's, and observed that it was probably of English make of the fifteenth century. It bore engraved initial letters and a *T* on each side.

Mr. Cuming agreed with Mr. Holt as to the date and place of manufacture assigned to the ring, and said that the *T* indicated that it had belonged to one of the fraternity of St. Anthony. It somewhat resembled the ring of Richard Mayo, Bishop of Hereford [1504-1516] figured in the *Archæologia*, xxxi, a description of which will be found in Mr. Cuming's paper "on the Cross-Tau of St. Anthony," in vol. xxiii, pp. 109-112 of this *Journal*.

Mr. J. W. Baily exhibited an ancient iron key, and portion of a globose vessel about three inches and a-half high, of deep gray or blackish coloured terra-cotta, lately exhumed at the north-east corner of Fenchurch-street, immediately opposite St. Bennet's Church. The key is seven inches and three-eighths long, and weighs about three-

quarters of a pound, the bit being cut into four strong teeth. It belongs to the class which has been denominated *Claves Laconice*, for examples of which see *Journal*, xii, 120. With regard to the pottery, Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that in form, paste, hue, and high degree of firing, it resembled several specimens which had been discovered in London; but, so far as ornamentation went, he could remember but one other example from the city with which it could be compared. The surface of the vessel submitted by Mr. Baily is scored with three waved lines divided from each other by a straight line; and the concave edge of the mouth is also impressed with a waved line. The other example of pottery similarly decorated is a one-handled pitcher found beneath the site of St. Michael's, Crooked-lane, April 1831, and engraved in the *Archæologia*, vol. xxiv, p. 200, pl. 44, fig. 12; and which, after passing through the hands of Messrs. A. J. Kemp, Crofton Croker, and Christopher Lynch, now finds a resting-place in the Cuming collection. This exceedingly rare type of vessel is rather above eight inches in height, and has its upper edge scored with waved lines, bringing to mind the mode of decoration observed in some of the more ancient British *ficilia*, of which an example discovered in Lancashire is described in this *Journal*, xvi, 296. Mr. Cuming expressed his opinion that the decorated pottery exhumed in London was of Keltic fabric of the fourth century; and referred to Thomas Bateman's *Ten Years' Diggings* (pp. 54, 55, 56, 282), where British terra-cotta of this era is described.

Mr. H. Watling sent for exhibition a number of drawings of rude flint implements, portions of large antlers (some tooled), horn-cores, bones, and terra-cotta, exhumed at Stonham, Suffolk. The most noteworthy item is a tile decorated with what may be described as a St. Andrew's Cross with a perpendicular bar passing up the middle. Without insisting that this is aught but an arbitrary combination of strokes, it is still allowable to point out the resemblance which they bear to certain early monograms given by Didron (*Christian Iconography*, i, 392), and which he considers to be the initials of the words *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*.

Mr. Watling also contributed sketches of Roman remains found at Stoke Ash, consisting of *ollæ* and other vessels of red and dark-coloured terra-cotta. On the handle of an *amphora* is stamped ENN IVL (*Ennius Julianus*); and among the Samian ware is a portion of a fine bowl with hunting subjects, bearing the maker's sigil ALBVCI.

Mr. Watling further submitted a richly-coloured drawing of the south window of Combe Church, Suffolk, executed during the first half of the fifteenth century, and representing a group of five figures illustrating a scene in the legend of St. Catherine. It probably represents the royal lady being taken beyond the walls of Alexandria to the place of her martyrdom.

To this Mr. Watling added a drawing of one of the effigies of the kings, of which there once existed a fine series in this church, the work apparently of the fourteenth century. The example produced is inscribed "Josias Rex."

Dr. Kendrick exhibited an apostle spoon of the time of James I, with the following memorandum attached:—"This apostle-spoon, which, according to the assay-stamp was made in the year 1616, is one of twelve formerly in the possession of Richard Cubham, of Bickerstaff, co. Lancaster, the friend of George Fox, the quaker, of whose tenets he was an early and zealous follower. At his death, in 1709, the apostle-spoons were distributed amongst his five daughters, all married, of whom my ancestress, Mary Johnson, was one. James Kendrick, M.D."

Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that the history of apostle-spoons had been so fully treated of in Brand's *Popular Antiquities* (ii, 83), and other familiar works, that it was needless to dwell on their origin and fashion on the present occasion, but that the specimen submitted by Dr. Kendrick possessed some features demanding special attention. The effigy surmounting the straight stem is evidently that of St. Matthias, holding in his left hand an open book, and in his right an axe, indicative of his martyrdom at Colchis. The disc-shaped nimbus looks like a broad flat hat, and bears in low-relief on its upper surface a dove. The ovoidal bowl is stamped with a leopard's head on its concave surface; and on the back of the stem are three other stamps, viz., the maker's mark of a star within a crescent, a lion passant, and a capital T in a shield, the date letter of the year 1616-7. The set of spoons to which this one belonged must have greatly resembled the examples engraved in Hone's *Everyday Book* i, 177.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming produced an apostle-spoon of rather earlier date than the foregoing, and of very different design. The little effigy is that of St. Andrew holding his X-shaped cross before him. The upper half of the handle is spiral, the lower broad and flat, its face graven with scroll-work, and its back with the name S. ANDRIAS. The bowl of the spoon is nearly round, and on its back are engraved two shields suspended by a strap across a billet. The dexter one displays what we may presume to be Baron and Femme, an half-eagle, and wool-comb; with the initials C.H. above the escutcheon. The second shield is a lozenge, charged with the half-eagle, impaling the letters AT combined. Above the lozenge are the initials A.C.G. The monogram AT must be a merchant's mark, and would seem to imply that the lady married below her rank, i.e. that whilst her family had the right to bear arms, her late husband was unprivileged to do so. In Southwold Church, Suffolk, is a shield charged with the letters AT crossing each other; and the same initials occur in combination in the Fairford Glass, both instances being

circa 1500. In the *Gent. Mag.* Feb. 1785, p. 89, is a print of an apostle-spoon with the image of St. Jude. On the back of the bowl is engraved a cross dividing the letters $\frac{E}{M} \frac{S}{T}$, with the date 1654 beneath them.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited a cast of the obverse of the great seal of Mary of Scotland and Francis II of France, with a silver medal commemorating their marriage, and read a paper upon them which will be found at p. 343 *ante*.

Mr. J. Hain Friswell exhibited, and read the following remarks :—

ON A SWORD FORMERLY WORN BY JOHN HAMPDEN.

BY J. HAIN FRISWELL, ESQ.

The day of swords and of single combats has passed, that of the *chasse-pot* and of wholesale slaughter is present, that of universal peace and goodwill is looming in the future, and I hope is not very far distant. What little I have to do at this meeting is connected with a sword of an authentic pedigree, belonging to John Hampden, of whom Lord Clarendon was bold enough to say of him, as it was said of Cinna, that “he had a head to contrive, a tongue to persuade, and a heart to execute any mischief”; but upon whom posterity has passed a far different verdict. Clarendon puts Hampden in the very first rank of the rebels, with an unlimited power to do good or evil, a flowing courtesy, a rare courage, and an industry that never tired; a subtle wit that was never defeated; but the better the man, the greater and the worse the rebel. He who had such power to do good did not do it. “When he drew his sword,” says the great historian of the civil war, “he threw away the scabbard.” He was the king’s bitterest enemy; and when one of Prince Rupert’s prisoners reported that he saw Mr. Hampden ride off from the field before the fight was done, with his head hanging down, and his hands leaning on the pommel of his saddle, Clarendon says that his loss “was no less pleasing to one party than it was condoled with in the other”; and “his death, therefore, seemed to be a great deliverance to the nation.”

Now it might be that the very sword which is before us this evening is that which was hanging to his wrist as he rode from Chalgrave field; for it was, as many another brave officer has found to his cost, that while waving his sword to cheer on his men against the dashing cavalry of Prince Rupert, that Hampden was shot. Two carbine-balls entering the shoulder, broke the bone, and injured the spine. Thus, too, in the great charge at Balaclava, Captain Nolan, the first man struck, was shot; and he, too, uttering a cry of anguish, described as a shriek, followed Hampden’s method, for he was seen galloping right across the line of charge, off the field, when he dropped. Hampden, as we know, obtained a surgeon at Thame; but died in six days, in great pain.

Clarendon expressly tells us that Mr. Hampden was a *colonel of foot*,

and that "he put himself among those horse as a volunteer," while being second to none in observance, and eager in pursuing the enemy, he was foremost in urging his men on. This account is in some measure borne out by the sword, which is that of a cavalier or gentleman, who would wear such for ornament and defence. It is not the straight flat-backed sabre, with a basket hilt, marked with O, that Cromwell provided for his roundheads, but evidently the sword of a gentleman. The hilt is made after the German or Spanish fashion, for at that time both were identical. The drawings of Callot, minute as many of them are, give in some of the larger etchings exactly the same flowing iron-work. Between the cross of the sword and the blade there is a guard thrown up, through which the forefinger was passed, and on that guard were two pierced hand plates, with the St. George's cross upon them; one of these is lost, but the ridge in which it was set is apparent. The boss is very heavy; and, indeed, is made to balance the sword so finely that a man might use it for a long time without tiring. Mr. Creswick, the tragedian, who is a collector of swords, tells me that he has never seen a finer specimen of the period, which is perhaps exactly that of Hampden. Fencing, as we know from Shakspeare, had been in fashion for a hundred years, and swords worn by the bravoës of Alsatia and the rough and gay gallants of Whitehall had grown to an enormous length, so that the waist of the buff coat was shortened, and in a street fight or hurried duello many a man was killed by the long sword, against which his ordinary rapier was powerless. I exhibit, as a comparison, a sword of one of the officers of Cromwell's court; plain, useful, and simple, but quite six inches shorter than that of Hampden. Again, there is on the table a rapier of the days of Queen Anne; a marvellous piece of fret-work, the hilt, guard, and boss being drilled like pieces of lace work, and all the scrolls being "cut up" by a graver when the steel was soft. This sword has been ill-used by being polished by an ignorant armourer, or the excellent work upon it would be more visible. It is about seven inches shorter than that to which we are directing our attention.

At the time of Hampden the good cutlery of Sheffield was famous, as it had been for hundreds of years even then, but more for knives, bills, axes, and smaller or larger work than for swords; such, at least, I should surmise from the fact that our best sword-blades were always imported from Germany, Spain, Italy, or even the East. These were very dear.

"I have two swerdes in one scabbard,
Full dearly they cost my purse,"

says the author of the ballad of *Little Musgrave and Lady Barnard*. Those from Spain, which were imported from a very early period, bore

the mark of the maker, and some motto. Thus, Pistol, when he draws his sword, reads that upon it:—

“Si Fortuna me tormenta
Esperanza me contenta.”

But many mottoes are more bloody:—“*Honor y Venganza*” (Honour and Revenge), “*Sangre y Muerte*” (Blood and Death), “*Busco un corazon fiel*” (I seek a faithful heart). Blades were also brought from Milan, Cologne, Damascus, Toledo, Ferrara, and Solingen, which was one of the most famous of the sword towns of Germany. In the very deep channel of the blade before us we find the simple motto, “Wilhelm Wurzburg : me : fecit : Solingen.” I don’t find any mention in ballad history of this town, but all cutlers know how excellent is old Solingen steel. I find another town mentioned in the ballad of the “Battle of Otterbourn.” Douglas and Percy

“Swepte togedder till they both swat,
With swords that were of fine Colleyne.”

And this town, which I take to be Cologne, is again mentioned in the ballad of King Arthur’s death, rendered familiar to us by Tennyson. In this ballad “Sir Lukin”—the bold Sir Bedwell of the Laureate—will not throw away the wondrous sword Excalibar, though commanded to do so by the King, on account of the fineness of the blade, and the richness of the hilt.

“But he kept back Excalibar;
He kept it back in privitie,
For all of Coleyne was the blade,
And all the hilt of precious stone.
And eru ! alache ! then said the knightes,
Must such a sworde away be throwne.”

A writer ventures to say, “we do not know what Coleyne is.” I should modestly suggest Cologne, which, if not celebrated as the actual place of manufacture, was probably more known to English traders than Solingen.

I have now to finish these few remarks by giving a history of the sword. John Hampden, a direct descendant in the male line of the celebrated John Hampden, died in 1861. He was brother to the learned Bishop of Hereford, of whom Hallam has said, “that no one has gone so far into the wilderness of scholasticism.” This bishop, who was lately amongst us, disapproved of the somewhat lax life of his elder brother, and when he died sent down an order for the sale of his effects. A friend of mine, who presented me with this sword, and to whom the late John Hampden has often shown it, saying: “This is the battle-sword of my famous ancestor, John Hampden,” went from Leamington to Mr. Hampden’s house and bought it at the sale, with

another, carelessly labelled, "two old swords." [The Chairman here remarked that he remembered Mr. Hampden's reference to this very sword.] But I am permitted to assure you, on the faith of my friend, Mr. H. P. Robinson, of Leamington, that he has often seen the descendant of the great man proudly exhibiting the sword, giving its history, and repeating the assurance—"This is the sword of John Hampden, my great ancestor."

At the same time I lay upon the table a woodcut of a sword belonging to her Majesty, *said* to be the sword of John Hampden. It is of Cellini work, and evidently of Italian make; it is a cut-and-thrust sword, without the hand-plate so necessary for defence, but with the heavy boss, and the place for the insertion of the finger near the base of the blade. On the base of the blade are stamped three unicorns' heads, coupled, one and two. The *London News* describes the sword thus, speaking of its illustrations: "One is the old sword which is *said* to have belonged to John Hampden. Its guard, handle, and pommel, are beautifully chiselled in steel with scenes from the life of King David; the cross hilt terminates in figures of Fame and Time; and other parts are decorated with nude figures and foliage, of minute and exquisite design. This sword is the property of the Queen." The unicorns' heads are placed heraldically correct, so that they might form the charges of a shield of coat armour. If they be intended for that, they would at once discharge any claim this very ornamental sword has for being that of John Hampden, for the arms of that family are described as "*azure*, a saltier *gules*, between four eagles displayed *azure*." In short, I should believe that the sword was of the age of Charles II, or Louis XIV, and intended for a court or masque sword, rather than that it belonged to the great Puritan and Republican leader.

Mr. J. W. Baily concurred with Mr. Friswell in thinking that the sword was decidedly of the period he had assigned to it, and that it was never used by Hampden in battle, but was a thrust or fencing sword, worn for ornament, and as a weapon for casual defence.

DECEMBER 9TH.

H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A. SCOT., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The election of the following member was announced:—James Hain Friswell, Esq., 74, Great Russell-street, Bloomsbury.

Rev. E. Kell exhibited photographs of a Terminal Statue, a white marble Head, and a Basin, found at Bevis Mount, Southampton. The dimensions of the statue were three feet one inch and a-half high (of this eight inches were for insertion in the ground), three inches thick,

and sixteen inches broad, although it was originally perhaps an inch and a half broader, as a portion of the right arm has been chiselled off. In the marble head the length of the face was two feet four inches, and its breadth one foot eight inches at the broadest part. The nose had been broken off, and has been replaced by a modern one. The basin was one foot seven inches in diameter, had sixteen spirals on the circumference, and an orifice through which water originally escaped. On the ground near it were found four roofing tiles from Vindomum.

Mr. Edward Levien, Hon. Sec., read a letter from Mr. Kell requesting the opinion of the meeting upon these objects; and, after some remarks by himself, Mr. Gordon M. Hills, and the Chairman, upon the extreme difficulty of judging of them without seeing the originals, the conclusion arrived at was that the head and statue were Roman-barbaric; and that the basin, which was of a much more modern type, might have been used as a font, although it presented much more of the appearance of a part of a small fountain.

Mr. J. W. Bailly exhibited a very fine collection of celts, consisting of arrow-heads and axes, obtained by him in the neighbourhood of Coleraine.

Mr. Gordon M. Hills observed that from the resemblance of several of the implements to some which had been discovered in various parts of the continent, he imagined that some of them might have been made abroad and imported into Ireland.

Mr. Cato concurred with Mr. Hills in his opinion, and instanced a stone club which had been exhibited by him in March last (see *ante*, p. 65).

Mr. Cuming observed that, whatever might have been the native country, so to speak, of many of these celts, there was no doubt they were an exceptionally fine collection, and the interesting account which Mr. Bailly had given of the manner in which he had become possessed of them, and his kindness in exhibiting them, deserved the thanks of the meeting.

Mr. Gunston exhibited an iron axe-head found at Custom-house Wharf, at a great depth below the surface.

Mr. H. F. Holt exhibited an elaborately carved small beech-wood box or casket, found in the palace of the Popes at Avignon in 1794. Its date is of the latter part of the fifteenth century.

Dr. Kendrick exhibited what had been denominated a snuff-mill, but which was considered by some as a spice-mill, or rather mixer, of the close of the seventeenth or early part of the eighteenth century. The whole is of neatly turned ivory, and consists of two parts, viz. :—1st, a vessel of inverted-conic form, about three inches and a-quarter high and one inch and three-quarters diameter at top, with nineteen perpendicular furrows down its inside; 2nd, a pestle or muller, three inches

and a-half long, the cylindrical stem having a button at its upper end, and the ovate body being cut into sixteen perpendicular ribs, each rib being divided into eighteen blunt teeth, and reminding us in some degree of a chocolate-mill.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming observed that whether we regard the specimen submitted by Dr. Kendrick as a snuff or spice mill, or mixer, there could not be two opinions respecting its novelty of type. Mr. Levien had justly remarked that had the machine been employed for pulverising tobacco leaf into snuff some stain would certainly be found on the ivory, whereas it was perfectly free from discoloration. He himself inclined to the spice theory. We well know how highly spices were valued by our ancestors, and how spice-plates, spoons, mills, and mortars once formed necessary items in every household, and were occasionally placed upon the festive board.

Mr. Cuming exhibited the centre stone of a spice-mill of early date, exhumed in Moorfields Jan. 1866. It measures nearly one inch and three-quarters high, by about two inches and one-eighth diameter, and is wrought out of a fine-grained grit. Through its middle is worked a socket to hold the arbour or spindle, which must have been nearly seven-eighths of an inch square. The position which this stone occupied in the machine was shown by the production of a spice-mill of *lignum vitæ* of the middle of last century, in which the equivalent portion is of iron.

Mr. Cuming also exhibited a pepper-mill of the sixteenth century, consisting of an iron cylinder nearly five inches and three quarters high, and fully one inch and a-half diameter, covered with thin latten, stamped with scrolls, etc., in a rich bold style. In this curious example the crushing wheel is of iron surrounded by broad sharp-edged diagonal sulcations. Such small machines as the above bore the title of *corn* or *quern*, as well as the larger handmill for grain. Thus we read in H. Hexham's *English and Netherduytsch Dictionarie*, Rotterdam, 1648, of "a pepper-querne (een peper-meulen)," and "a mustard-querne (een mostaert-meulen)." The latter instrument is alluded to in Bale's *Interlude concerning Nature, Moses, and Christ*, 1562—

"Apace the myll shall go,
So shall the credle do,
And the musterde querne also."

Mr. H. Watling exhibited another scene from the presumed legend of St. Catherine, copied in fac-simile from the painted glass in the south window of Combe Church, Suffolk. This is a group of four figures which may be thus enumerated. In the background, and immediately in front of the gateway of a tower, stands his Satanic Majesty from top to toe of a blue colour, with the exception of his horns and wings, which are green, and his claws of a dull-yellowish hue. In his right

hand is a formidable spear resembling the weapon held by one of the Earls of Gloucester in the window of Tewkesbury Abbey, of which a woodcut is given in this *Journal*, v, 373. In the foreground, on the right of the Demon, is a bearded personage in rich costume of Oriental character, supposed to represent the Emperor Maximian. Before him stands the nimbed effigy of the lady taken for St. Catherine. Her blue robe is secured across the breast with a golden cord, and her golden coloured shoe is decorated with a trellis pattern, bringing to mind the fashion of the days of our third Edward. On the left of the Saint stands a savage-looking soldier equipped in a bassinet with the beaver up, and having the sleeve of his garment apparently studded with bosses. He wears a sword, over the guard of which hangs a small targe or buckler, such as is found depicted in MSS. of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Behind and just above the lady is seen a male head covered with the heavy bundle of cloth called a roundlet, but part of which falls in broad folds as low as the left shoulder.

Mr. Cuming observed that the costume of the figures forbids our assigning to this painting a date later than the reign of Henry VI, and that the legend represented was more probably that of St. Barbara than that of St. Catherine.

Mr. Edward Levien, Hon. Sec., read the following account of the discovery of the relics of a second Roman building at Castlefield, Tinker's Hill, on Andover Down Farm, Hants, by Rev. E. Kell, M.A., F.S.A. :—

“It will be remembered that in May, 1867, our associate, Charles Lockhart, Esq., and myself succeeded in uncovering the relics of a Roman building, supposed to be a *diversorium*, or inn, at Castlefield, Tinker's Hill, on Andover Down Farm, the site of the ancient Roman station, Vindonum, of which I gave a detailed account in the *Journal* (vol. xxiii, pp. 268-281). Some time after the discovery of this Roman building (as stated at p. 295 of the same volume), we found, by probing the ground in various parts of the same field, a second Roman building, two hundred and fifty feet westward of the first discovered. Having then uncovered the relics of a wall about fifteen feet long and three feet broad, running from west to east, composed, like the other house, of flint stones embedded in mortar, we were compelled to discontinue our operations by the occupant of the farm, Mr. Turner, who could not at that time allow the land to be diverted from agricultural purposes. He promised, however, the free use of it after the next harvest. Accepting his kind offer, on August 10, 1868, Mr. C. Lockhart and myself, having on the previous occasion taken exact note of the precise spot where the relic formerly appeared, pursued the inquiry, and soon came upon the wall formerly discovered; but found that, in consequence of our previous operations having loosened the soil above

and around it, the length of the wall had been diminished to five feet by the action of the plough and other disturbing agricultural influences.

“Eleven feet northward of this fragment of a wall, we came across another relic of the building, consisting of two walls at right angles, which had been the corner of a room. There were six feet on the north side of the room remaining, and five feet, seven inches on the east side. The wall was two feet six inches thick. We carefully probed the land in every direction round these relics, but could discover no other vestiges. This second Roman building was situated on the more elevated part of the field on Tinker’s Hill; and from the thinness of the soil at this portion of Castlefield, it would be more likely to be disturbed by the action of the plough,—an implement much employed on this piece of land, which, from its peculiar fertility, had long been devoted to tillage. The farmer stated that there were great inequalities in the surface soil of the field, which varied in thickness from five inches to two feet; and which he accounted for by saying that builders, in throwing out earth for the foundations of houses, naturally removed the surface soil from the site to the surrounding parts, where it would be useful for agricultural or horticultural purposes. We found around the relics of this house the same description of Roman articles as at the former, viz. fragments of roofing tiles, pottery, Samian ware, iron rings, nails, oyster-shells, bones, teeth of various animals, etc. Although disappointed in not finding a larger portion of the relics of the walls, the existence of a second Roman building in Castlefield appears thus satisfactorily to be demonstrated.”

Mr. Edward Levien, Hon. Sec., read the following communication from Lieutenant Alwin S. Bell, 3rd West India Regiment, dated Falmouth, Jamaica, 28th April, 1868, upon “Ancient Implements of Stone lately found in Jamaica”:—

“I noticed one day at a friend’s house, lying on a window-ledge, near some water jars, an ancient stone chisel, or axe similar to those found in Britain.

“It had been dug up, my friend said, some years ago in the mountains here, and that was all he could tell me about it. From further inquiries I made, I found the negroes to be acquainted with these ancient stone implements, and that they use them to keep water cool in their jars.

“I have since obtained several, in all about thirty (mostly from the old black people, formerly slaves), in their country districts, and which have been found at various periods, but chiefly during the slave time, when the greater portion of the island was under cultivation. The negroes call them thunderbolts, and believe they fall from the clouds during the heavy tropical storms to which the island is subject. They have also a

curious tradition that these ancient remains rise to the surface of the ground once in every seven years. Those in my possession are, with some exceptions, nearly all shaped similarly to the figure (No. 4) given in *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon*, at page 69, and said to be a copy of the original preserved in the museum of the Society of Antiquaries.

"They vary considerably in size, and are all formed of very hard stone. Some are quite perfect, but the greater part of those that I have seen and collected are chipped, more or less, at the broad part, or cutting edge. One or two appear to be of a different type from the rest, being very narrow, though still possessing a chisel end. The largest of these remains in my own collection, and measures nine inches in length, and three and a half inches across at the broad end. The smallest I have is made of greenstone, and measures only two inches by an inch and a quarter.

"My friend told me that his specimen at first was chipped at the end, and that he employed a labourer to grind it down even, which had much *improved* it! but that the man complained of its being a very hard job, and that it had nearly spoilt his grindstone.

"What Mr. Wright has said relative to the stone implements found in Britain applies equally to these discovered by me here, viz., that they are usually found in accidental localities, where there is nothing to fix their date or indicate the people to whom they belonged."

The following communications were announced as having been received from their respective authors, and will be printed in the next number of the *Journal* :—

Notes by Sir P. Stafford Carey, High Bailiff of Guernsey, on Mr. Planché's paper "On the Earls of Gloucester," read at the Cirencester Congress, 19th August, 1868; and a paper, with numerous illustrations, by Sir J. Gardner Wilkinson, D.C.L., F.R.S., V.P., "On Cromlechs and other remains in Pembrokeshire."

Antiquarian Intelligence.

A PROSPECTUS has been issued of a work to be published during the summer, entitled *The Stone Monuments, Tumuli, and Ornaments, of remote Ages, with some Notes on early Irish Architecture*, collected and described by J. B. Waring, F.R.I.B.A. There will be a hundred and seven plates, of which about seventy are to be devoted to the illustration of the class of ancient stone monuments usually styled "Druidical"; the remainder representing various objects of ornamental art in bronze and the precious metals, ending at about the eighth century. The plates are to be accompanied with descriptive and critical letter-press, forming one handsome volume, the publication of which will commence when a sufficient number of subscribers is obtained to guarantee the expense of producing the work; the price of which, when completed, will be three guineas. Subscribers' names are to be sent to Mr. J. B. Waring, 2, Lidlington-place, Amptill-square, London, N.W.

Mr. James Wardell, author of *The Municipal History of Leeds*,—*The Antiquities of Leeds*, etc.,—has issued another edition of his *Historical Account of Kirkstall Abbey*. This little manual is copiously illustrated, and the letter-press being accurate and trustworthy, it will recommend itself to all those who are interested in the subject of which it treats.

The English Archaeologist's Handbook, by Henry Godwin, F.S.A., is one of the most useful books upon the subject of archaeology that has ever been published. It contains a variety of information which is not only useful but absolutely necessary to every student of antiquity, and its brevity is no less admirable than its accuracy. An immense amount of instruction is conveyed in an incredibly short space, commencing with prehistoric antiquities, carried on through the Celtic, British, Romano-British, Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and mediæval periods, down to the Reformation; and a miscellaneous chapter contains remarks intended to assist the archæologist in ascertaining the dates of arms, brasses, church bells, crosses, ecclesiastical symbols, inscriptions, parochial registers, tombs, monuments, seals, and numerous other antiquarian objects. At the end are specimens of archaic forms of numerals and letters employed in manuscripts; and it is in every respect calculated to realise the wishes of its author, who in his preface modestly says that he is "not without hope that it will prove useful not only as a handbook to the archæologist, but as a manual to the student of history, and a companion to the English tourist." For each and all of these ends it is admirably adapted by its intrinsic value and extrinsic qualities, inasmuch as its contents are admirable, its size portable, and its price inexpensive.

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ERRATA.

- P. 36, l. 32, for "yet" read "yat"; and l. 36, for "singe" read "ringe".
 „ 37, l. 21, for "Calvers" read "Cavers"; l. 24, for "is" "are"; and l. 32, for "Denebury" "Danebury".
 „ 61, l. 9, for "W. H. Baily" read "J. W. Baily".
 „ 66, nine lines from bottom, for "cork" read "cock".
 „ 67, l. 9, for "spur" read "arrow-head".
 „ 72, l. 17, for "falion" read "falcon"; ll. 31, 39, for "W. J. Baily" read "J. W. Baily"; l. 33, for "Mash" read "Mark"; and l. 34, for "Hill" read "Hall".
 „ 78, l. 4, for "hand" read "head".
 „ 90, l. 3, for "Broughton" read "Boughton".
 „ 107, l. 23, for "Suthern" read "Southern".
 „ 145, l. 9, for "1541" read "1421".
 „ 167, l. 16, for "Oxford" read "Orford"; and l. 19, for "Laing" read "Lang".
 „ 186, l. 8, for "Lombard-street" read "Walbrook-buildings".
 „ 214, bottom line, for "13 ft. 5 in." read "6 ft. 8 in."
 „ 230, l. 17, for "G. de la Touche" read "J. G. D. La Touche".
 „ 240, l. 20, for "Wendorffer" read "Neudorffer".
 „ 272, l. 36, for "thumbikin" read "thumbkin".
 „ 286, l. 20, for "Blithborough" read "Blythburgh"; and l. 23, for "screwed" read "secured".
 „ 292, l. 33, for "Tricheus" read "Trichesus".
 „ 301, l. 2, for "Rev. G. O. Tyler Townsend" read "Rev. G. O. Fyler Townsend".
 „ 348, l. 4, for "1589" read "1549".
 „ 349, l. 14, *dele* "probable", and for "British Museum" read "collection of Robert Ready, Esq."
 „ 355, ll. 5 and 2 from bottom, for "Dalryngrudge" read "Dalyngrudge."

* * * Owing to an inadvertence, Pl. 21 has been marked as Pl. 2.



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